A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF Passive Obedience Since the REFORMATION.

By A. Seller

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A
PREFATORY EPISTLE
TO THE
AUTHOR
Of the First Part of the History of *Passive Obedience.*

SIR,

THE *first part of the* History of Passive Obedience, *having been favorably received by the generality of Readers, tho unjustly censured, and undeservedly reproach'd by some Men, who think themselves injured thereby; I have thought fit to publish a second Part of the same History, not doubting your leave for my so doing; wherein the Reader may find that Doctrin carefully, and at large deduc'd through the first Ages of our Reformation, down to the times of* Archbishop Laud, *(and from thence to the present time) to shew the World, that the Opinion was not first hatch'd, and brought up in that great Man's days, who dyed a Martyr to the constitutions of our most excellent Church, and among them to the true Principles of Loyalty: Nor do I believe, that any one Primitive Doctrin, wherein we differ from the* Papists *can shew (even in that Age, when the whole drift of our Writers was to expose and confute, the* Romish Synagogue*) more Authors, that uniformly assert it, than this of* Non-Resistance, *as if God in his wise and good Providence had so order'd it, to stifle an Objection, which he foresaw would afterwards be made against it in the degenerate Ages of the same Church; nor is there need of any other Apology to you or the Reader, for*

my medling with this Province (for my adding ſome Paſſages to what hath been already publiſh'd, and illuſtrating, and enlarging others) ſince if the intereſt of truth be promoted, it matters not how many are engaged in that ſervice; nor that whether they are called Papiſts, Atheiſts, *and* Hobbiſts *for their pains.*

See the Hiſtory unmask'd.

I have often heretofore wondred at the aſſurance of the Romiſh *Authors, who wrote againſt our Church a little after the Reformation, that they could ſo confidently accuſe the whole Body of Proteſtants, as the Preachers, and Practiſers of Rebellion; (for ſo ſays* Stapleton ‖, that Proteſtants obey no longer, than till they have power to reſiſt: And Card. Allen *, *that the* Proteſtants are deſperate and Factious, that as long as the Laws are favorable to them, they are obedient; but when the Laws are againſt them, and their Princes their Enemies, they break all the Bonds of Allegiance, deſpiſe Majeſty, fill all places with Slaughters, Burnings of Towns, and Robberies, and run headlong into the contempt of all things Civil and Sacred; *to omit other Writers) when I ſeriouſly reflected upon the tumultuary reformations in many Countries, and the ſeditious Writings of* Buchanan, Knox, Goodman, Whittingham, Junius Brutus, *and others; I ſaw reaſon to ceaſe my wonder at the accuſation, tho I can never enough admire the forehead of the Accuſers, who at the ſame time, that they impeach'd the Proteſtants, were themſelves guilty of Writing moſt Traiterous Libels, and promoting Sedition and Rebellion, as much as in them lay, againſt their lawful Sovereign. But whomſoever this accuſation might concern in thoſe days, I am ſure, it did not touch the* Church of England, *of whoſe Loyalty her adverſary* Chriſtopher Goodman *gives a fair teſtimony, even when he complains of it*; The moſt part of Men (ſays he) yea and of thoſe, who have been both Learned and Godly, and have given worthy teſtimony of their Profeſſion to the Glory of God, have thought and taught (by the permiſſion of God for our Sins) that it is not lawful in any caſe to reſiſt, and diſobey the Superior Powers, but rather to lay down their Heads, and ſubmit themſelves to all kinds of Puniſhment, and Tyranny; —— *and in the Margin he ſets this note,* this is dangerous Doctrin.

‖ Counter-blaſt p. 20. *Anſw. to the Juſt. of Gr. Bri. cap. 4.

Of Obed. ch. 3. p. 30. Pr. at Gen. 1558.

And tho it may be expected, that every Age will produce ſuch Boutefeau's, *yet the Doctrin of the Croſs, and the benefits of a patient ſuffering of injuries will, I hope, be always ſo well underſtood in the World, that all the attempts of the* Jeſuits, *and their Journeymen (for it is from their ſhop that theſe Wares come) will prove vain, and the true Catholick Doctrin of* Paſſive Obedience *will be ſtill owned, ſtill honored, and when God calls to the performance of it practiſed; —— the Chriſtian Religion is ſoft and gentle, its Foundation was laid in the blood of its inſtitutor, and our Holy Saviour, the ſuperſtructure*

structure cemented with the blood of an innumerable Army of Martyrs, and adorn'd with the patience of the Saints; and the more truly reformed Christianity is, the more like it grows to those admirable examples, the more meek and humble it is, and the better prepared for a state of suffering; but when Mammon finds a way into the House of God, and the Baptismal Vow is forgotten, when Men depend on their own Arts, and distrust Gods Providence, when they dare fight for Religion, because they are afraid to dye for it, and can allow themselves to do evil, that good may come thereof; it is no wonder, if Christianity be blended with the World, and made a pretence to serve the ends of pride and covetousness, of ambition and revenge; according to the observation of a wise Statesman, with respect to the Netherlands, that whereas the Spanish, and Italian Writers, attribute the Revolutions in the Low Countries to the change of Religion, *&c.* That Religion without mixtures of ambition and interest, works no such violent effects, and produces rather the examples of constant sufferings, than of desperate actions. Sir *Will. Temple's* Obs. on the Netherl. c. 1. p. 57.

How truly Ancient, and Primitive the Doctrin of Passive Obedience *is, comes not within the limits of this present History, but may be hereafter considered, by deducing it through the Writings and Practices of the earliest Christians down to the days of King* Henry VIII. *But those times in the esteem of* John Goodwin *were times of ignorance, and the truth was but in its dawn, and by a glimmering light Men were easily led out of their way; for he says, that the Primitive Christians (and among them he must include the Apostles, tho guided by the Spirit of God, which led them into all truth) knew nothing of this useful Doctrin of Resistance,* that God had hid this liberty from the Primitive Christians, of the Subjects Power, and right to resist their Superiors, which he hath manifested to us; the commonalty of Christians, doing contrary to the will of their Superiors, being the Men, that must have the Principal hand in executing God's judgments upon the Whore. *Rev.* 18, 4, 5. *and as* John Goodwin *slanders the Ancient Fathers, as a company of ignorant Men, so* John Milton *accuses the first Reformers, as the genuine assertors of the Doctrin of Resistance; for* Salmasius *having truly alledged, that the Doctrin of the Sacred, and Inviolable Authority of Princes was preserved pure, and uncorrupt in the Church; till the Bishops of* Rome *attempted to set up a Kingdom in this World Paramount to all Kings and Emperors;* Milton *replies,* that *Salmasius* strove in vain to transfer the guilt upon the Pope, which all free Nations, every Religion, all the Orthodox take upon themselves, and that he had as many Adversaries in this point, as there were most excellent Doctors of the Reformed Church: *While a third Writer boldly affirms,* that the Doctrin of Non-Resistance is contrary to the Fundamental Liberties of the Nation, and that they undid the Anti-Cavalerism. Sect. 6. Defens. pro pop. Angli. p. 33. An hor of plain English. p. 7.

the Kingdom, who required the Oath contrary to the Fundamental Liberty of the Nation, whereby they would make the King, and them, who are commiſſioned by him to be as irreſiſtible, as there ſeverity againſt Diſſenters would argue the impoſers infallible.

Thus in the Opinion of ſuch Writers, Paſſive Obedience *was the weakneſs of the Ancient Chriſtians, and a ſign, they were under a lower diſpenſation, and that to aſſert it neceſſary in this more inlightned Age is to contradict the moſt eminent Reformers, and the Fundamental Liberties of Nature; and if after all this ſome Men ſhould be ſo reſty, as to quote St.* Paul *to the* Romans *for their ſubmiſſion to Princes,* Goodman *ſays,* that Men are deceived into this ſubmiſſion by miſunderſtanding this place of St. *Paul,* and ſuch like, It behoveth every Soul to be ſubject to ſuperior Powers, becauſe there is no Power but of God, for the Powers that be, are ordained of God, and therefore he, that reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; *which words he elſewhere thus comments,* that they require Obedience only to ſuch Magiſtrates, whom God hath ordained over us lawfully according to his word, which rule in his fear according to their Office, as God hath appointed; and that Tyrants, Idolaters, Papiſts, and Oppreſſors are not God's Ordinance; if ſo, Satan muſt be obeyed, and his Infernal Powers; for they are Powers, and have their Powers alſo from God, and yet we muſt reſiſt the Devil, for the Magiſtrate is ordained for good, and to ſuch only muſt every Perſon be ſubject and Obedient. *Such unhappy Commentaries do ſome Men write, even on Holy Scripture it ſelf, when their Intereſts incline their minds to wreſt the Sacred Oracles; it were eaſie to prove this from Pope* Hildebrand *down through the School-men, to the preſent time; as alſo to ſhew, how Men by degrees came to deſpiſe, then to ſpeak evil, and at laſt with violence to oppoſe Kings, but that it would ſwell this Preface to too great a bulk. While I muſt profeſs, I have met with an honeſter, and more Chriſtian account of our duty in the Heathen* Epictetus, *whoſe words will ſerve for an excellent Commentary on St.* Peter (not only to the good and gentle, but alſo to the froward) we muſt ſuit our duties to our reſpective relations; Have we a Father? we are commanded to take care of him, to yield to him in every thing; if he gives us ill Language, if he beats us, we muſt bear with him; but our Father is an ill Man? did nature give thee a relation to him as he is good, or rather as he is a Father? —— no other Man can hurt thee, unleſs thou wilt thy ſelf.

Ubi ſup. p. 38.

Ch. 9. p. 110, &c.

Enchirid. c. 37. p. 29, 30. ed. Ox.

Nor ſhall I mention, how diſſonant to our Laws the reſiſting of Kings is (that is an undertaking recommended to the Gentlemen of the long Robe) while I further obſerve, that many of the Sermons, that recommend Non-Reſiſtance were Printed at the deſire of the Two Houſes of Parliament, others at the requeſt of the Lord Mayor, &c. and all with Licence, which gives us the ſuf-

frages

frages of all concern'd in the publishing the discourses, as well as the Preacher; to which if we joyn the multitude of Addresses (I mean not of the life and fortune of Dissenters, *who never cryed* Hosannah *one day, but when they intended to cry,* Crucifie *the next; but of those, who profess'd themselves true Sons of the* Church) *we cannot wish for a more full and particular Evidence; I have not always tyed my self to the very words of the Authors, I cite (especially not to a literal translation, which savors of a mean pedantry) but I have no where wilfully falsified their meaning, or lessened their force; and having thus accounted for the equity, seasonableness, and integrity of this second Part, I conclude with that Passage of Mr.* Philpot's *Letter;* that every good Man ought not to hide his Faith, but to edifie the Church of God by a true confession: for as St: *Paul* writeth to the *Romans,* the belief of the heart justifieth; to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a Man safe; (so he rendreth the Passage,) and he that walketh uprightly, walketh safely: *For while the little policies of crafty Men, will at last expose and ruin them, integrity will be its own security.* *Apud Coverdale's collect. p. 217.*

I have taken care, Sir, to correct the Errata of your first part, as of this second, while I hope, you, or some Friend for you will give speedily due correction to your many answerers (as one of them hath been already silenc'd) who by a Method peculiar to this Age, undertake to confute a History, not by proving the falsifications of the Author, or disproving the matter of fact, but by shewing reasons, why what was said by some Men seven years ago ought to be unsaid, and retracted in this present juncture; as if the change of Mens circumstances necessarily brought with it a change of that truth, which I thought eternal, and unchangable. I am,

Yours, *&c.*

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Chap. I.

The Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience in the Reign of King Henry *the Eighth, when the Reformation of Religion was begun.*

Sect. I.

THe two Hinges upon which the *Papal* Grandeur moves, are the *Supremacy*, and the *Infallibility* of S. *Peter*'s Succeſſor; by the firſt they affright Princes from attempting a Reformation, (ſince no Man ought to controul his Superior, who could excommunicate, and depoſe him:) and by the ſecond they exclude all complaints of inferior perſons [for what alterations ought to be made in a Church that cannot err?] Hereby they formerly kept the world in ignorance, and a blind ſubjection for many Ages, till it pleaſed God in great mercy to inſtruct the world, that Princes were accountable to God alone, whoſe Vicegerents they were, and that all Biſhops were in ſpiritual matters equally the Succeſſors of our holy Saviour, and his Apoſtles; that no Man was free either from Vice or Error, and that the Popes in a more eſpecial manner had been guilty of both Idolatry and Hereſie, as well as groſs and notorious Immoralities. Among the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, King *Henry* the Eighth of *England* begun very early to aſſert his Rights; and tho he made not a complete Reformation, himſelf dying in the *Romiſh* Communion, (as great Deſigns cannot be perfected in a moment) yet the preſent Age owes to that great Prince its thanks for his abandoning the Pope, his allowing the holy Scriptures in the *Engliſh Tongue*, his aboliſhing many Shrines and Images, to which the common People paid Idolatrous Worſhip, and many other ſuch Bleſſings.

* *Ann.* 1536. In his days * *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, wrote his Book *De Verâ Obedientiâ*, to which *Bonner* wrote a Preface (a Book ſo well thought of by the eminent Proteſtants beyond Sea, that *Melchior Goldaſtus* hath given it a place in his accurate Collection of Writers for *the Power of Kings againſt the Papal Uſurpations*) which Book was tranſlated into *Engliſh*, *anno* 1553. and therein we are taught this Doctrine. *In that place God hath ſet Princes, whom as Repreſenters of his Image unto men, he would have to be reputed in the ſupreme, and moſt high room, and to excel among all other human Creatures, as S.* Peter *writeth, and that the ſame Princes reign by his Authority, as the holy* Proverbs *make report*; By me *(ſaith God)* Kings reign, *inſomuch that after* Paul's *ſaying,* Whoſoever reſiſteth the power reſiſteth the Ordinance of God. *Which* Paul *opening that plainly unto* Titus, *which he ſpeaketh here generally, commanded him to warn all men to obey their Princes.* —— Paul *without difference biddeth men obey thoſe Princes that bear the Sword. S.* Peter *ſpeaketh of Kings by name. Chriſt himſelf commandeth tribute to be paid unto* Cæſar, *and checked his Diſciples for ſtriving who ſhould be the greateſt.* Kings of the Nations *(quoth he)* bear rule over them; *declaring plainly in ſo great variety of Degrees and Orders which God doth garniſh this world withal, that the Dominion and Authority pertaineth to none but to Princes.*

Printed in Twelves.

But here ſome man will ſay to me, you travail about that, that no man is in doubt of; for who ever denied that the Prince ought to be obeyed? It is moſt certain, that he, that will not obey the Prince, is worthy to die for it, as it is comprehended in the Old Law, and alſo confirmed in the New Law. But we muſt ſee (will he ſay) that the King do not paſs the Limits appointed him, as tho there muſt be an Arbiter for the ordering of his Limits: for it is certain that Obedience is due; but how far the Limits of requiring Obedience extend, that is all the whole Queſtion that can be demanded.

Obj.

Sol. *What manner of Limits are thoſe that ye tell me of? ſeeing the Scripture hath none ſuch, but generally ſpeaking of Obedience, which the Subject is bounden to do unto the Prince, the Wife unto the Husband, or the Servant to the Maſter, it hath not added ſo much as one ſyllable of Exception, but only hath preſerved the Obedience due to God, ſafe and whole, that we ſhould not hearken unto any man's word in all the world againſt God; elſe the Sentences that command Obedience are indefinite, or without exception, but are of indifferent force univerſally, ſo that it is but loſt labor for you to tell me of Limits, which cannot be proved by any Teſtimony of Scripture.*

We

We are commanded doubtleſs to obey; in that conſiſteth our Office, which if we mind to go about with the favour of God and man, we muſt needs ſhew humbleneſs of heart in obeying authority, how grievous ſoever it be, *for God's ſake, not queſtioning, nor enquiring what the King, what the Maſter, or what the Husband ought, or may command others to do; and if they take upon them either of their own head, or when it is offered them, more than right and reaſon is,* they have a Lord unto whom they either ſtand or fall, *and that ſhall one day ſit in Judgment even of them.*

——We have by teſtimony of God's Word ſhewn, that a Prince's mighty Power is not gotten by flattery, or by privilege of the people, but given of God.

—— Chriſt ſought not an earthly Kingdom—but (the ſtate of Orders remaining ſtill) he ſet forth, and taught the Form of Heavenly Converſation—— which he by his own doings declared to conſiſt in humility, and contempt of worldly things, when he ſuffered the moſt bitter, and cruel kind of Death for our ſakes: and the points of Office of him that is his Vicar, are——to be in ſubjection, not to command Princes, but to acknowledge himſelf to be under their power, and commandment, not only when they command things indifferent, and eaſily to be done, but alſo when they command things not indifferent, ſo they be not wicked, in checks, in ſcourgings, and beatings unto death, yea, even unto the death of the Croſs. Indeed theſe are Chriſts footſteps.

Now if it be objected againſt what hath been ſaid, that the Author of the Treatiſe, *Gardiner*, was a virulent Papiſt; I anſwer, this ſtrengthens the Authority; for the Teſtimony of an Enemy to the Truth of Religion is worth an hundred other Witneſſes; and it is very remarkable, that a *Romiſh* Biſhop ſhould aſſert the Divine Right, and unaccountableneſs of Kings, when his Church teacheth him to believe, that *the Pope hath power to depoſe Princes*, and many of their eminent Writers affirm, that *all power is originally in, and derived from the people.*

And if it be further objected, that *Gardiner* retracted, and diſowned this Doctrine in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, I grant it, and I wiſh, that he and *Bonner* had been the only men in the world, who had altered their Opinions for the worſe, being prevailed upon by the *love of the world, which is the root of all evil.* But Truth is never the leſs venerable, becauſe ſome Profeſſors of it have turned Apoſtates; Gardiner's *and* Bonner's *Reaſons* * *being ſo pithy, and Arguments ſo ſtrong, as neither they themſelves, nor any other after them, ſhall be able at any time rightly to aſſoil and anſwer.* And it muſt be obſerved, that

* *Vide Cranmer's Tranſlat. in præf.* before his Book of unwritten Verities.

before they condemned theſe their Orthodox Tenets, they wilfully broke the Oaths which they had taken in the Days of *Henry* the Eighth; and the venerable Dean * *Nowel* thus urges the Argument. 'Ask your forſworn Fathers, with what face they did give to 'the King the Title of *Supreme Head*, did ſwear it to him, and ſo 'long time continued ſo calling him. If they did not ſo think, as 'they ſaid, and had ſworn, but diſſembled deeply, ask of them with 'what face they played ſo falſe diſſembling Hypocrites with their 'Sovereign Lord? Ask of them, what manner of Subjects they were 'all that while, feigning in face, in word, in writing, yea, and ta-'king a Solemn Oath to be with their Prince therein, and being in 'heart, and deed on his ſworn Enemy his ſide? But if they thought 'indeed, as they pretended in words, then ask of them with what 'face they did change their Copy, and forſwear the ſame, and them-'ſelves withal ſo eaſily afterward, yea, and compelled all others to be 'forſworn with them for company?——Then you ſhall find who 'they were that changed their Copy, and turned with the Wind, as 'the Weather-cock—that ſo falſly ſwear, reſwear, trieſwear, and 'forſwear themſelves, and not content therewith, did by all moſt 'terrible Torments, and dreadful Deaths compel others to Perjury 'with them.

* Reproof of *Dorman.* p. 116. *Lond.* 1565.

And whoſo conſiders *Bonner*'s juggling, *anno* 1547. with King *Edward* the Sixth's Commiſſioners, about the *Injunctions*; at one time proteſting againſt them, at another recanting that his Proteſtation, ſwearing Obedience to the King, receiving his Injunctions, giving his aſſent and conſent to the State of Religion then eſtabliſhed, to *the aboliſhing Images, abrogation of the Maſs, ſetting up of Bibles in Churches, giving the Sacrament in both kinds*, and ſuch like. And then two years afterward, *anno* 1549. on the Death of the Lord High Admiral, and the many tumultuous Inſurrections of the King's Subjects, neglecting to be preſent, or to officiate in his Cathedral at Divine Service, and permitting others to frequent the Maſs, may ſee his temper throughly, and be convinced that his Authority is of no worth, while his Reaſonings are unanſwerable, it being unjuſt that his perſonal Faults ſhould make void the weight of his Arguments; eſpecially when he ſpake not his own ſenſe, but the ſenſe of the whole Church of *England*; which will undeniably appear by the continuation of his ſtory.

Fox Martyrs, To. 2. p. 1192, 1193. *Edit.* 1610.

For when *Bonner* was for his prevarication ſuſpected, and complained of, and convened before the King's Council, among other *Injunctions* then given him, one was, that *he ſhould perſonally preach within*

within three weeks after at Paul's Cross. And among the *special points and Articles that were to be treated of by him in his Sermon,* this was the first.

1. *That all such, as rebel against their Prince, get unto them damnation; and those that resist the higher Powers, resist the Ordinance of God; and he that dieth therefore in Rebellion, by the word of God is utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul; and therefore those Rebels in* Devonshire *and* Cornwal, *in* Norfolk, *or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a Power and Force against their King, and Prince, against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and go about to subvert the State, and Order of the Commonwealth, not only to deserve therefore death, as Traitors and Rebels, but do accumulate to themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning Fire of Hell with* Lucifer, *the Father, and first Author of Pride, Disobedience and Rebellion, what pretence soever they have, — as* Corah, Dathan *and* Abirom *for Rebellion against* Moses *were swallowed down alive into Hell, altho they pretended to sacrifice unto God. And* 4. *That our Authority of Royal Power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young Age, than is, or was of any of our Predecessors, tho the same were much elder; as may appear by example of* Josias, *&c.* How *Bonner* discharged his Obedience to these *Injunctions,* is not my present Province, the *Martyrology* will inform the Reader: but what is already related undeniably proves what was the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in those Days.

Anno 1541. was Dr. *Robert Barnes* martyred, and at the stake he professed; 'That he never to his knowledge taught any erroneous 'Doctrine, but only those things which the Scripture led him unto; 'and that in his Sermons he never maintain'd any Error, nor gave 'occasion of any Insurrection, —— but with all diligence did study 'evermore to set forth the Glory of God, the Obedience to our So'vereign Lord the King, and the true and sincere Religion of Christ '—— desiring the People to bear witness, that he detested and ab'horred all evil Opinions, and Doctrines against the Word of God.— And his Writings are agreeable to his dying Protestation. *In his Supplication to King* Henry *the Eighth,* when condemned to die, treating of the Cruelties of the Popish Clergy, among other things, he says, 'If they cannot make a Man a Heretick, to colour and main- P. 183. 'tain their Oppression, they add Treason against your Grace, tho 'he be never so true a Subject, and all unlikely to make any resi- 'stance, or to think any evil unto your Grace. —— Whereas it is P. 184. 'they that go about to make Insurrection to the maintaining of their 'worldly pomp and pride, and not the true Preacher —— Who is he 'that

Vide his Life prefixed to his Works.

'that would be a Traitor, or maintain a Traitor againſt your moſt 'excellent and noble Grace? I think, no Man; yea, and I know 'ſurely, that no Man can do it without the great diſpleaſure of the 'eternal God. For S. *Paul* commandeth ſtraitly unto all Chriſtians 'to be obedient in all things, on this manner; *Let every man ſubmit* Rom. 13. '*himſelf to the authority of the higher power, for whoſoever reſiſteth the* 'power, *reſiſteth the ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to* 1 Pet. 2. '*themſelves damnation.* Alſo S. *Peter* confirmeth this ſaying, *Submit your* 'ſelves *unto all manner of ordinance of man*, &c. Wherefore, if every ☞ 'man had the Scriptures (as I would to God they had) to judge 'every Man's Doctrine, then were it out of queſtion, that the 'Preachers thereof either would, or could make, or cauſe to be 'made any Inſurrection againſt their Prince, ſeeing the ſelf ſame 'Scripture ſtraitly commandeth all Subjects to be obedient unto 'their Princes, as *Paul* witneſſeth, ſaying, *Warn them*, (ſaith he) '*that they ſubmit themſelves to princes, and to powers, and to obey the* 'officers.

'Now how can they that preach, and exhort all Men to 'this Doctrine, cauſe any Inſurrection, or Diſobedience againſt 'their Prince. —— Call to mind the old Prophets, and with a ſingle 'eye judge, if any of them either privily, or apertly ſtirred up the P. 185. 'People againſt their Princes. Look on Chriſt, if he ſubmitted 'not himſelf to the high powers; paid he not Tribute, for all he was 'free, and cauſed *Peter* likewiſe to pay? Suffered not he with all 'patience the puniſhments of the Princes? Yea, Death moſt cruel, 'altho they did him open wrong, and could find him guilty in no 'Cauſe. Look alſo on the Apoſtles—and if ever they ſtirred, by 'any occaſion, the People againſt their Princes; yea, if they them-'ſelves obeyed not to all Princes, altho the moſt part of them were 'Tyrants and Infidels. Conſider likewiſe thoſe Doctors, which purely and ſincerely have handled the Word of God, either in 'Preaching or Writing; if ever by their means any Inſurrection, or 'Diſobedience riſe among the People againſt their Princes: but you 'ſhall rather find, that they have been rather ready to lay down 'their own Heads, to ſuffer with all patience whatſoever Ty-'ranny any Power would miniſter unto them, giving all People 'example to do the ſame.

'Now to conclude, if neither the Scripture, neither the Practice 'of the Preachers thereof teacheth, nor affirmeth, that the People 'may diſobey their Princes, or their Ordinances, but contrariwiſe 'teacheth all Obedience to be done unto them, it is plain, that

thoſe

'those Bishops, or rather Papists do falsly accuse those true Preach-
'ers and Subjects: which thing would appear in every Man's sight,
'if by their violence the Word of God were not kept under.

'Now is this the Doctrin, that I do Preach and Teach, and none
'other as concerning this matter, God I take to record, and all my
Books and Writings, that ever I wrote or made; and only I allow
and favor them, which further this Doctrine of Christ; and of
this I am sure, mine Adversaries, or rather Adversaries to Christ's
'Doctrin must bear me witness. After this he proceeds to demon-
'strate, that the Pope and the Papistical Bishops are they, who
'Preach to the People the contrary Doctrin; as that St. *Peter* ex-
'empts himself, and his Successors from being subject to Superiors,
'that Subjects may be disobedient to their own Lords, and that
'the Pope may Depose Kings, that he hath autority to break all
'Oaths, Bonds, and Obligations; and other such like positions,
'and then adds, —— there is no Officer, that hath need to be
'afraid of Christ's Gospel, nor yet of the Preachers thereof; but
'of those privy Traitors can no Man be too wary, ——— the Scri-
'pture commandeth us to obey to wicked Princes, and giveth us
'none autority to Depose them, ——— who was more wicked than
'*Herod*? and yet St. *John* suffer'd Death under him: Who was
'wickeder than Pilate? and yet Christ did not put him down, but
'was Crucified under him. Briefly, which of all the Princes were
'good in the Apostles days? and yet they deposed none: So that
'God's word, and their own learning, and the Practice of our
'Master Christ, and his Holy Apostles are openly against them; p. 190.
'there is no People under Heaven, that more abhors, and with
'earnester heart resisteth, and more diligently doth Preach against
'Disobedience than we do: Yea, I dare say boldly, let all your
'Books be search'd that were written this 500 Years; and all they
'shall not declare the autority of a Prince, and the true obedi-
'ence toward him, as one of our little Books shall do, that be
condemn'd by you for Heresie. And then he impeacheth them of p. 202.
denying, that the King's Power is immediatly of God; while it can 204.
never be proved, that ever we spake against God, or our King.

The same Learned and Holy Martyr in his Discourse, that *Mens Constitutions not grounded in Scripture, bind not the Conscience*, is of the same mind. —— 'If the power command any thing of Ty-
'ranny against Right, and Law, (always provided that it repugn not
'against the Gospel, nor destroy our Faith) our Charity must p. 292.
'needs suffer it; for as St. *Paul* saith, *Charity suffereth all things*: al- 293.
294.

so

'so our Master Christ, *If a man strike thee on the one Cheek, turn 'him the other:* For if he doth exercise Tyranny, if he command 'thee any thing against right, or do thee any wrong, (as for an 'example, cast thee in Prison wrongfully) if thou canst by any 'reasonable and quiet means without Sedition, Insurrection, or 'breaking of the common Peace save thy self, or avoid his Ty- 'ranny, thou may'st do it with a good Conscience, —— but 'in no wise, be it right or wrong, may'st thou make any resistance 'with a Sword or with Hand; but obey, except thou canst avoid 'as I have shewed thee; but if the Cause be right, lawful, or pro- 'fitable to the Common-wealth; thou must obey, and thou must 'not fly without sin. —— But suppose the King should condemn 'the New Testament in *England*; and command, that none of his 'Subjects should have it; is he to be obeyed or not? —— this will 'be a great Scourge, and an intolerable plague. —— My Lords, 'the Popish Bishops, would depose him with short deliberation, and 'make no Conscience of it; they have Deposed Princes for lesser 'Causes than this is a great deal. But against them will I always 'lay Christ's Fact, and his Holy Apostles, and the Word of God. 'If the King forbid the *New Testament*, &c. under a temporal pain, 'or else under the pain of Death; Men shall first make faithful 'Prayers to God, and then diligent Intercession unto the King's 'Grace with all due Subjection, that his Grace would release that 'commandment; if he will not do it, they shall keep their *Testa-* 'ment, with all other Ordinances of Christ, and let the King exer- 'cise his Tyranny (if they cannot fly) and in no wise under the 'pain of Damnation shall they withstand him with violence, but 'suffer patiently all the Tyranny, that he layeth on them both in 'their bodies and goods; and leave the vengeance of it unto their 'Heavenly Father: —— But in no wise shall they resist violently, 'neither shall they deny Christ's verity, nor yet forsake it before 'the Prince; —— neither shall they go about to Depose their
p. 295. 'Prince, as my Lords the Bishops were wont to do; but they shall 'boldly confess, that they have the verity, and will thereby abide.

And this he proves by the examples of *Peter*, and *John*, and of *Christ*, of the *three Children*, and *Daniel*, and then adds; 'so that 'Christian Men are bound to obey in suffering the King's Tyran- 'ny, but not in consenting to his unlawful commandment; always 'having before their eyes the comfortable saying of Christ, *Fear 'not them that can kill the body, which when they have done, they can 'no more do*, &c.

The

The Weapons used by the Martyrs in those Days were Patience and Prayers, and by those Arms they conquered their Adversaries. So when the Martyr *Bilney*, going to his death, was upbraided, that he, being accounted an holy Man, wrought no Miracles. He answered with a mild voice and countenance; *God only works Miracles and Wonders, and he it is that hath wrought this one Wonder in your Eyes, that I being wrongfully accused, falsly belied, opprobriously and despitefully handled, buffeted and condemned to the fire; yet hitherto have I not once opened my mouth against any of you: this passeth the work of nature, and is therefore the manifest miracle of God, who will by my death, and suffering be glorified, and have his Truth enhaunced.* This was the true way to get the Crown of Martyrdom; and here you see the *Patience of the Saints.* *Vid.* Answer to *Stephen Gardiner's* Deviliſh Detection, *fol.* 203. b. *edit. an.* 1547.

Sect. II.

The necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, tho compiled *anno Domini* 1540, received not its Approbation in Parliament till *ann.* 1543, being Printed in *May* following by the King, *Henry* the Eighth's Order (who thought it so useful, that himself writes a Preface to it directed *to all his faithful, and loving Subjects*) *with the Advice of his Clergy, as a Doctrine, and Declaration of the true Knowledge of God, and his Word, with the principal Articles of Religion; allowed also by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Nether House of Parliament.* 'In which, says our Historian, they handled all things with much 'moderation, the King having labored first to make Tenents under- 'stood, then to have them observed. And tho there be in it Accounts given of the *seven Sacraments*, the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, &c. yet the Ruin of the Popish Religion is unquestionably, under the Providence of God, much owing to the seasonable publishing, and dispersing of this Book (which came out both in *Latin*, for the Instruction of Foreigners, and *English* for the use of the Natives) nor was it to be expected, that Heterodoxies of so long continuance should all in a moment be condemned. Lord *Herbert's Henry* VIII. p. 495.

In this Book the Exposition of the Fifth Commandment teacheth us thus: 'In this Commandment, by these words *Father* and *Mo-* 'ther, is understood not only the natural Father and Mother, which 'did carnally beget us, and brought us up, but also Princes, and 'all other Governors, Rulers and Pastors, under whom we be 'nourished, brought up, ordered and guided. And by this word

Honor, in this Commandment is not only meant a Reverence, and 'lowlineſs in words and outward geſture—but alſo a prompt and 'ready obedience to their lawful Commandments, a regard to their 'Words, a forbearing and ſuffering of them, an inward love and 'veneration towards them, *&c.* this is the very Honor and Duty, 'which not only the Children do owe unto their Parents, but alſo all 'Subjects and Inferiors to their Heads and Rulers.—— And after this having fully ſhewn the Duties of Children to their Parents, and Parents to their Children, from the Precepts and Examples of holy Scripture, it proceeds— 'This Commandment alſo containeth the 'Honor and Obedience which Subjects owe unto their Princes; for 'Scripture taketh Princes to be as it were Fathers and Nurſes to-'wards their Subjects. Then reckoning up the ſeveral Duties of Princes, it adds— 'And all their Subjects muſt again on their 'parts, and be bound by this Commandment, not only to honor 'and obey the ſaid Princes, according as Subjects be bound to do; 'and to owe their truth and fidelity unto them, as unto their natural 'Lords, but they muſt alſo love them, as Children do love their Fa-'thers; yea, they muſt more tender the Surety of their Prince's Per-'ſon, and his Eſtate, than their own, or any others, even like as the 'Health of the Head is more to be tendered than the Health of any 'other Member. And by this Commandment alſo Subjects be 'bound not to withdraw their ſaid Fealty, Truth, Love and Obedi-'ence toward their Princes *for any cauſe, whatſoever it be*; ne *in* 'any cauſe may they conſpire againſt his perſon, ne do any thing to-'wards the hinderance, or hurt thereof, nor of his Eſtate. And 'furthermore by this Commandment they be bound to obey alſo all 'the Laws, *&c.* made by their Princes and Governors, except they 'be againſt the Commandment of God. —— They muſt alſo give 'unto their Prince aid, help and aſſiſtance, whenſoever he ſhall re-'quire the ſame, either for ſurety, preſervation, or maintenance of 'his Perſon and Eſtate, or of the Realm.— And further, if any 'Subject ſhall know of any thing, which is, or may be to the noy-'ance, or damage of his Prince's Perſon, or Eſtate; he is bound by 'this Commandment to diſcloſe the ſame with all ſpeed to the Prince 'himſelf, or to ſome of his Council; for it is the very Law of Na-'ture, that every Member ſhould employ himſelf to preſerve an 'defend the Head. —— And that all Subjects do owe unto their 'Princes and Governors ſuch Honor and Obedience, as is aforeſaid, 'it appeareth evidently in ſundry places of Scripture, but eſpecially 'in the Epiſtle of S. *Paul* (*Rom.* 13.) and S. *Peter* (1 Pet. 2.) and

'there

'there be many Examples in Scripture of the great Vengeance of 'God, that hath fallen upon such as have been disobedient unto 'their Princes; But one principal Example to be noted, is of the 'Rebellion, which *Chore*, *Dathan*, and *Abiron* made against their 'Governors *Moses* and *Aaron*: For punishment of which Rebels, 'God not only caused the Earth to open, and to swallow them 'down,——but caused also the Fire to descend from Heaven, 'and to burn up 250 Captains, which conspired with them in the 'same Rebellion.

And the Explanation of the Sixth Commandment saith thus; ☜ 'Moreover no Subjects may draw their Swords against their Prince 'for any Cause whatsoever it be; nor against any other (saving for 'lawful defence) without their Prince's licence; and it is their 'Duty to draw their Swords in defence of their Prince and Realm, 'whensoever the Prince shall command them so to do. And al- 'though Princes, which be the Chief and Supreme Heads of their 'Realms, do otherwise than they ought to do, yet God hath as- ☜ 'signed no Judges over them in this World, but will have the 'Judgment of them reserved to himself, and will punish them 'when he seeth his time, and for amendment of such Princes that 'do otherwise than they should do, the Subjects may not rebel, but 'must pray to God, which hath the Hearts of Princes in his Hands, 'that he so turn their Hearts to him, that they may use the Sword, 'which he hath given them, unto his pleasure.

SECT. III.

* Long before this time did the Martyr, *William Tyndale*, otherwise (as he says himself) called *William Hychins*, or *Hitchins*, publish his Book of *the Obedience of a Christian Man*, and in it asserts the same Doctrine, notwithstanding his many personal Sufferings, the Censure of his Books, and the publick Condemnation of his Translation of the Holy Bible (* and it is worth nothing, that the Doctrine of this Book relating to Non-resistance was censur'd by the Romish Priests of that time). In his *Epistle to the Reader* he says, † *Let us therefore look diligently whereunto we are called, — we are called, not to dispute as the Pope's Disciples do, but to dye with Christ, that we may live with him; and to suffer with him, that we may reign with him. We be called to a Kingdom that must be won with Suffering only, as a sick Man winneth Health. — Tribulation is our right Baptism, and is signified by plunging into the water*; we, that are baptized *into the Name of Christ*

* *viz.* Oct. 2. *A.* 1528. as *Jo. Fox* informs us in his Edition of the Works of *Tindal*, *Berns*, and *Frith*, *An.* 1573. p. 97.

† *Vid.* 1st. Part of *Hist. of Pas. Obed.* p. 20. ‡ p. 98, 99, 100.

Rom. 6. *Christ (saith S.* Paul*) are baptized to dye with him.—— And this is the difference between the Children of God and of Salvation, and between the Children of the Devil and Damnation, that the Children of God have power in their Hearts to suffer for God's Word, which is their life and salvation, their hope and trust:—— And the Children of the Devil in time of adversity flee from Christ, whom they followed feignedly.—— God is ever at hand in time of need to help us.— Tyrants and Persecutors are but God's Scourge to chastise us,— and he lets them do, not whatsoever they would, but as much only as he appointeth them to do, and as far forth as is necessary for us; let us therefore arm our selves with the promises both of help and assistance, and also of the glorious reward that follows.*

pag. 104, 105, 106. The same Martyr in his *Prologue* unto the Book saith; 'I have 'made this little Treatise that followeth, containing all Obedience 'that is of God.——Now (as ever) the most part seek Liberty; 'they be glad, when they hear the unsatiable Covetousness of the 'Spirituality rebuked;— When Tyranny and and Oppression is 'preach'd against:——And therefore, because the Heads will not 'so rule, will they also no longer obey, but resist and rise against 'their evil Heads? And one wicked destroyeth another; yet is 'God's Word not the cause of this, neither yet the Preachers; for 'tho that Christ himself taught all Obedience, how that it is not 'lawful to resist wrong (but for the Officer that is appointed 'thereto), and how a Man must love his Enemy, and pray for 'them that persecute him,——and how that all Vengeance must 'be remitted to God;——Yet the People, for the most part, re- ☞ 'ceived it not, they were ever ready to rise and to fight.——Thus 'seest thou, that it is the bloody Doctrine of the Pope that causeth 'Disobedience, Rebellion, and Insurrection; for he teacheth to 'fight and to defend his Traditions,—and to disobey Father, Mother, 'Master, Lord, King, and Emperor,— where the peaceable Do- 'ctrine of Christ teacheth to obey, and to suffer for the Word of 'God, and to remit the Vengeance, and defence of the Word to 'God, which is mighty and able to defend it.

And in the Treatise it self, *Tyndale* having first treated of the Duties of Children, Wives, and Servants, proceeds to discourse of the *Obe-*

pag. 109, 110. *dience of Subjects unto Kings, Princes, and Rulers,* out of *Rom.* 13. averring, 'That as a Father over his Children is both Lord, and 'Judg, forbidding that one Brother revenge himself of another; 'but if any cause of Strife be between them, will have it brought to 'himself, or his Assigns: So God forbiddeth all men to avenge

'them-

'themſelves, and taketh the Authority of avenging to himſelf, ſay-
'ing, *Vengeance is mine, I will reward.*——For it is impoſſible, that
'a Man ſhould be a righteous, an equal, or indifferent Judge in his
'own Cauſe, Luſts and Appetites ſo blind us.——God therefore hath
'given Laws to all Nations, and in all Lands hath put Kings, Go-
'vernours, and Rulers in his own ſtead to rule the World through
'them; and hath commanded all Cauſes to be brought before them,
'as thou readeſt, *Exod.* 22. where the Judges are called *Gods*, be-
'cauſe they are in God's room, and execute the Commandments
'of God: And in another place of the ſaid Chapter, *Moſes* charg-
'eth, ſaying, *See that thou rail not on the Gods, &c.*——*Whoſoever*
'therefore reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God, (for they are in the room of
'God) *and they that reſiſt ſhall receive their damnation.*——Tho no
'man puniſh the breakers of the Law, yet ſhall God ſend his Curſes
'upon them, till they be utterly brought to nought.

'Neither may the inferior perſon avenge himſelf upon the ſupe-
'rior, or violently reſiſt him, for whatſoever wrong it be; if he
'do, he is condemn'd in the deed doing, in as much as he taketh
'upon him that which belongeth to God only, when he ſaith, *Ven-*
'geance is mine, &c. and Chriſt ſaith, *All they that take the Sword*
'ſhall periſh by the ſword. Takeſt thou a Sword to avenge thy ſelf?
'So giveſt thou not room to God to avenge thee, but robb'ſt him of
'his moſt high Honor, in that thou willt not let him be Judg over
'thee. If any man might have avenged himſelf upon his Superior,
'that might *David* moſt righteouſly have done upon King *Saul*,
'which ſo wrongfully perſecuted David, even for no other cauſe,
'than that God anointed him King. Yet * when God had deli- * 1 Reg.
'ver'd *Saul* into the hands of *David*,——and his Men encouraged 24.
'him to ſlay him, he anſwered, *The Lord forbid it me, that I ſhould*
'lay my hand on him: And † when *Abiſhai* would have nailed *Saul* † Cap. 26.
'with his Spear to the ground, *David* forbad him, ſaying, *Kill him*
'not, for who ſhall lay his hands on the Lord's anointed, and not be
'guilty? &c.——* Why did not *David* ſlay *Saul*, ſeeing he was ſo *Pag. 111.
'wicked, not in perſecuting *David* only, but in diſobeying God's
'Commandments, and in that he had ſlain Eighty five of the Prieſts
'wrongfully? Verily for it was not lawful; for if he had done it,
'he muſt have ſinned againſt God; for God hath made the King
'in every Realm Judg over all, and over him is there no Judg: He
'that judgeth the King, judgeth God, and he that layeth hands on
'the King, layeth hands on God, and he that reſiſteth the King,
'reſiſteth God, and damneth God's Laws and Ordinance. If the

'Subjects

'Subjects ſin, they muſt be brought to the King's Judgment; if 'the King ſin, he muſt be reſerved to the Judgment, Wrath, and 'Vengeance of God: And as it is to reſiſt the King, ſo is it to 'reſiſt his Officer, which is ſet or ſent to execute the King's Com-'mandment.

Luk. 13. 'When *they ſhewed Chriſt of the *Galileans*, whoſe Blood *Pilate* 'mingled with their own Sacrifice; he anſwered, *Suppoſe ye, that* 'thoſe Galileans *were greater Sinners, &c.* this was told Chriſt no doubt 'of ſuch an intent, as they asked him *Matt.* 22. *Whether it were* 'lawful to give Tribute to Ceſar? For they thought it was no ſin 'to reſiſt a Heathen Prince, as few of us would think if we were 'under the *Turk*, that it were Sin to riſe againſt him, and to rid 'our ſelves from under his Dominion, ſo ſore have our Biſhops 'robb'd us of the true Doctrine of Chriſt: But Chriſt condemn'd 'their Deeds, and alſo the ſecret Thoughts of all others, that con-'ſented thereto, ſaying, *Except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh*; 'as who ſhould ſay, I know, that you are within your Hearts ſuch 'they were outward in their Deeds, and under the ſame Damna-'tion; except therefore ye repent betimes, ye ſhall break out at the 'laſt into like Deeds, and likewiſe periſh, as it came afterwards 'to paſs.

'Hereby ſeeſt thou, that the King is in this World without Law; 'and may at his luſt do right or wrong, and ſhall give Accounts 'but to God only.

The ſame Martyr in his *Preface to the Practice of Popiſh Prelates*, ſet forth *An. Dom.* 1530. *Unto all Subjects be it ſaid, if they profeſs the*
Pag. 342. *Law of God, and Faith of the Lord Jeſus, and will be Chriſt's Diſci-ples; then let them remember, that there was never any Man ſo great a Subject as Chriſt was: There was never Creature that ſuffer'd ſo great Unright ſo patiently and ſo meekly as he: Therefore whatſoever they have been in times paſt, let them now think, that it is their parts to be ſubject in the loweſt kind of Subjection, and to ſuffer all things patiently. If the High Powers be cruel unto you with natural Cruelty; then with ſoftneſs and patience ye ſhall either win them, or mitigate their fierceneſs: If they joyn them unto the Pope, and perſecute you for your Faith, then call to mind, that ye be choſen to ſuffer here with Chriſt, that you may joy with him in the Life to come.— If they command that God forbiddeth, or forbid that God commandeth, then anſwer as the Apoſtles did,* That
Act. 5. God muſt be obey'd more than man. *If they compel you to ſuffer un-right, then Chriſt ſhall help you to bear, and his Spirit ſhall comfort you:*
☞ *But only ſee, that neither they put you from God's Word, nor ye reſiſt them with*

with bodily Violence, but abide patiently, &c.——And as for Wickedneſs, whence it ſpringeth, and who is the cauſe of all Inſurrection, and of the fall of Princes, and of the ſhortning of their days upon the Earth,——thou ſhalt ſee in the Glaſs following.

Chap. II.

The Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience *in the Reign of King* Edward *the Sixth.*

SECT. I.

IN the beginning of this pious Prince's Reign the *Homily of Obedience* was publiſh'd; and in his Second Year, *Ann.* 1548. the King, 'ſays *Fuller*, by his Proclamation did for a while prohibit all ſort of 'Preaching, that the Clergy might apply themſelves to Prayer, and 'the Layity to Prayer, and *hearing* the *Homilies:* So venerable an eſteem had the wiſe and good Men of that Age of the now ſo much deſpiſed *Homilies*; and I am enclinable to believe, one great reaſon why they have ſince faln into Contempt is, becauſe they ſo earneſtly preſs Subjection to Authority, and forbid Sedition and Reſiſtance. Ch. Hiſt. Cent. 16. lib. 7. pag. 38.

Ann. 1550. 'Becauſe of the ſcarcity of Preachers, it was ordain'd, 'That of the King's Six Chaplains, two ſhould be always about the 'Court, the other four travelling abroad; the firſt Year two in *Wales*, 'and two in *Lincolnſhire*; the ſecond Year, two in the Marches of 'Scotland, and two in *Yorkſhire*; the third Year, two in *Devonſhire*, 'and two in *Hamſhire*; the fourth Year, two in *Norfolk*, and two in '*Eſſex*, *&c.* and ſo till they had gone through the whole Kingdom: ſo rare was Preaching in thoſe days. To ſupply the want of which, the ſame Year a *Poſtil*, or *Collection of moſt godly Doctrin upon every Goſpel through the Year*, was printed *cum privilegio*; and in the Sermon on the Goſpel for the Twenty third *Sunday* after *Trinity*, the People are thus inſtructed in their Duty.—— 'Here is to be noted 'the Difference that Chriſt maketh between the Kingdom of God, 'and this World; for he doth not only approve and allow this high 'Power and politick Life, but alſo confirmeth it; for the Kingdom 'of God or of Chriſt is ſpiritual,——and contrariwiſe, the Kingdom 'of *Heyl.* Hiſt. of the Reform. *An.* 1550. pag. 94.

'of the Emperor is worldly, it is visible, in which the Emperor himself governeth, and beareth rule mightily with his Lords, and Princes, as the Scripture witnesseth in another place, *The Kings of the World have dominion over the People, and they that bear rule over them are called Gracious Lords.* Nevertheless that Kingdom is of God, and established by God's Ordinance in such wise, that he that resisteth this Ordinance, resisteth God himself. Thinkest thou that Princes and great Lords in the Scripture are called God's in vain, and without a cause? For if they be Gods, and are made by God Partakers of his Magnificence, then must they needs be in God's stead, whose room they bear; therefore seeing they rule in God's stead, it is both meet and convenient to give them that we are bound to give them; but what are those things? S. *Paul* setteth them forth, and saith, *Give unto every Man his Duty, Tribute to whom Tribute belongeth, &c.* Here thou hearest what thou art bound to give to high Powers: But peradventure thou wilt say, Shall I give Obedience unto a Tyrant, or to an ungracious Prince or Lord? Yea truly, thou art bound both to give and obey him; for what hast thou to do with his Tyranny? If the Magistrate doth naught, and contrary to Equity, he hath a Judg, whom he must answer in that appointed day: Judgment is not here granted unto thee, except he constraineth thee to do any thing against God; then thou mayst say with the Apostles, *We ought more to obey God than men:* But if he constraineth thee to nothing against God, then hast thou here the Sentence of Christ, *Give to* Cesar *that belongeth to him, and to God that is Gods:* Which Answer is so good and godly, that they that were sent of the *Pharisees* marvelled at it, and for because they could say nothing against it, they went their ways. God grant us his Grace.

Luc. 22.

Rom. 13.

Psal. 81.

Rom. 13.

Act. 5.

Serm. on S. Barthol. day.

The Kings (saith Christ) *of the Heathen bear rule over them; and those that use Power over them, are called Gracious Lords. In which words Christ confirmeth the Civil Empires and Dominions of this World, but he approveth it not in the Apostles,—— Doubtless unto Kings is the Sword given and committed, as S.* Paul *saith, to punish the evil, and defend the good and virtuous; and forasmuch as they have the Sword committed to them of God, and not of themselves; therefore we the residue of People must obey, and be subject to this Ordinance of God for Conscience sake.—— Christ in this place acknowledgeth, that Kings and Princes and other Magistrates must have the Dominion, and that their Dominions and Regiments are God's own Ordinance.*

Rom. 13.

And

And having discours'd of *Herod's* Cruelty, and that there were doubtless many in that Age, that would be ready to destroy and root out, whom the World counts Hereticks, he never thought of Resistance as a Remedy in such a case, but only of patience. *This, I know, that we (with the Grace of God) shall be ready not only to suffer all Adversity for the Gospel's sake, but also to dye for it; be* Herod *and all his ungodly Members never so mad with it.* —— * *Christ in his Persecution, which surely is ever annext to the Gospel in this World, commandeth us to take sure hold of his Word, as that only Comfort, whereby Christians in all Tribulations solace themselves.* —— *For what shall hinder or hurt him that taketh hold upon the Word, and by Faith printeth it in his Heart.* —— † *Here in this life they shall be comforted by his Word, and in the World to come by his Bliss and eternal Life.*

Serm. on the *Innocents* day.

* Serm. on S. *Simon* and *Jude's* day.

† Serm. on *All Saints* day.

On the first *Sunday* after the *Epiphany*, *Ann.* 1552. *Bernard Gilpin* the Father of the Northern Churches, and nominated to the Bishoprick of *Carlisle*, though he declin'd it, preach'd before King *Edward*, and in his Sermon, as he freely reproved many other Vices, so did he also censure the Sin of Disobedience to Rulers. ' God's Word plainly tells us, that evil and dumb Pastors, and ' wicked Rulers and Magistrates are sent of God, as a Plague ' and Punishment for the Sins of the People.—Concerning the ' Civil Magistrates, it is plain in *Job* 34. 30. that *for the sins of ' the people God raiseth Hypocrites to reign over them*; that is to say, ' such as have the bare Names of Governours and Protectors, ' and are indeed Destroyers, Oppressors of the People, Subver- ' ters of the Law, and of all Equity; and seeing it is so, so ma- ' ny as feel the grief and smart of this Plague, ought not to ' murmur, but patiently suffer, and be offended with their own ' Sins, which have deserved this Scourge and much more, and ' study for amendment, that God may take it away;—for if ' they continue, as they do, to murmur against God and their ' Rulers,—he shall for their punishment so multiply the num- ' ber of evil Governours, unjust Judges, Justices, and Officers, ' that as it was spoken by a Jester in the Emperor *Claudius's* ' time, the Images of good Magistrates may be all graven in one ' Ring. And it is remarkable, that the good Man closed his Ser- ' mon with these words, *God save the King*.

Printed *An.* 1636. p. 311. 312. p. 313. p. 335.

SECT. II.

In the days of this good King the Godly Martyr *Hooper*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, wrote a ſhort commentary on the 13th. Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, which he dedicated to the Dean, Chancellor, and other Dignitaries of his Cathedral; as alſo to all Parſons, Vicars, and Curates within his Dioceſe, whom he exhorts to ſee, 'that the People know their commandments, and the works 'thereof appertaining to God in the firſt Table, that they honour 'no wrong or falſe God, nor yet the true God a wrong way; —— 'and alſo that they avoid all ſuch ſins, as be contrary to the Com-'mandments of God in the ſecond Table; telling them, that for 'a help to them, and alſo to the People, he had ſet forth the 13th. 'Chapter to the *Romans*, which entreats of all the ſecond Table; 'praying, and in the King's name commanding all Curates in his 'Dioceſe, that could not Preach, every day to read to the People 'that 13th. Chapter, as he had ſet it forth; and thoſe, that could 'Preach, in their Sermons oftentimes to inculcate, and perſwade 'this rule of obedience to the People; further enjoyning his whole 'Clergy (that he might keep the People from the diſpleaſure of 'God and the King, and himſelf from everlaſting damnation) moſt 'diligently to teach the People this Chapter every week; one part 'of it the Saturday at Evenſong, the other the Sunday at the Morn-'ing Prayer, and the third part the Sunday at Evenſong.

Printed at *Lond.* 1583. firſt publiſh'd, as I conjecture, *an.* 1549. when the Rebels were up in the Weſt.

This Reverend Martyr on verſe the firſt ſaith, 'that St. *Paul* 'pronounceth generally, that *every Soul*, i. e. every Man, ſhould be 'obedient unto the higher power, —— of what condition, ſtate, 'and degree ſoever, he be —— to the powers St. *Paul* command-'eth obedience, honour, reverence, and love to be born; and this 'is eſpecially to be noted in St. *Paul*, that he ſays ſimply and plain-'ly, we ſhould obey the higher powers, to confute, argue, and re-'prehend thoſe, that cloak and excuſe their inobedience, either for 'the age of the Rulers, or elſe for the conditions and manners of 'the Rulers: —— the manners and conditions of the Magiſtrates 'do not excuſe our inobedience, tho they be naught; for *Paul* bid-'deth us to look upon the Power and Authority of the Higher 'Powers, and not upon their Manners; and St. *Peter* commandeth 'the Servants to obey their Maſters, tho they be evil; ſo *Joſeph* 'obeyed *Pharaoh*, and *Chriſt* our Saviour *Pilate*, St. *Paul* the Em-'perors of *Rome*, *Caligula* and *Nero*; and when St. *Paul* command-

1 *Pet.* 2.

'eth

'eth us to be obedient, he meaneth, not only we ſhould ſpeak reverently and honorably of the Higher Power, —— but to obey the Laws ſet forth by the Power, except they command things againſt God's Laws; then muſt we obey more God than Men; and yet not to ſtrive and fight with the Magiſtrates, but ſuffer patiently death, rather than to offend God, or elſe our obedience is nothing but hypocriſie and diſſimulation. Who would accept his own Child's making of Courteſie, when all his facts be contrary to his commandment? What Maſter would be content, or think his Servant doth his duty in putting off his cap, and in his doing contemneth all his Maſter's Laws and Commandments? the Laws of a Magiſtrate, if they be repugnant to the Word of God, they ſhould not be obeyed; yet rather ſhould a Man ſuffer death, than to defend himſelf by force, and violent reſiſting of the Superior Powers; as Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and the Prophets did.

'On verſe 2. Becauſe that naturally there is in every Man a certain deſire of liberty, and to live without ſubjection and all manner of Laws, except ſuch as pleaſe himſelf, St. *Paul* is not content generally to exhort, and command all Men to obedience of the Higher Powers, but giveth many great and weighty cauſes, wherefore Men ſhould be obedient, and in ſubjection to them. The firſt is, becauſe the Office of a Magiſtrate is *the Ordinance of God*, —— and therefore the Magiſtrate muſt be obeyed, except we will ſay, in ſome reſpects God is not to be obeyed; —— therefore the Magiſtrates be called *Gods* in Scripture: —— ungodly Princes God ſuffers, and appoints for the ſins of the People; but let the King and Magiſtrate be as wicked as can be deviſed and thought, yet is his place and office the Ordinance and Appointment of God, and therefore to be obeyed. —— and in caſe they do any thing in their Offices contrary to the Word of God, although the Subjects may not, nor upon pain of eternal Damnation, ought not by force nor violence to reſiſt the Officer in his High Power; yet they are bound to think, that God can, and will as well revenge the abuſe of his Office in them, as puniſh the Subject for the diſobedience of his ordinance towards the Higher Power. If it be true, that St. *Paul* ſaith, *the higher power to be the Ordinance of God*, it is very damnable iniquity, that for any private affection, or other unjuſt oppreſſions, for any Man to depoſe the Magiſtrates from their Places and Honors appointed by God; or elſe privily, or openly, craftily or violently to go

'about to change, or alter the State and Ordinance of God, *&c.*
'The ſecond cauſe is, the great peril and danger it is to reſiſt and
'diſobey God's Ordinances; *They that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves*
'*damnation*; as tho he had ſaid, leſt ye ſhould think it a light thing,
'but a trifling matter to withſtand, and diſobey the Magiſtrates;
'underſtand ye, that in ſo doing ye ſtand and fight againſt God,
'and therefore ye provoke Judgment and Vengeance againſt your
'ſelves, and be culpable and guilty of God's everlaſting diſplea-
'ſure, if ye repent not. Here St. *Paul* hath ſet forth the End, and
'ſucceſs of Sedition, Treaſon, Conſpiracy, and Rebellion; that is
'to ſay, deſtruction both of Body and Soul; and who is able to
'contend and fight with God?

'On verſe 5. One cauſe, wherefore we muſt obey, is the fear of
'pain and puniſhment, which the Magiſtrate muſt miniſter by the
'commandment of God, unto all ſuch as diſobey and contemn
'the Ordinance of God: the other is conſcience; for although the
'Magiſtrate do not ſee nor know, how thou doſt diſobey and break
'the Order of God; or elſe, if thou could'ſt by power and ſtrength
'overcome the Magiſtrates, yet thy conſcience is bound to obey,--
'there be ſome ſo indurate and paſt grace, that think themſelves
'not bound to obey this order, and Higher Power appointed and
'commanded of God; but doubtleſs thoſe ſhall periſh with their
'Captains, as *Achitophel* did with his *Abſalom*; if the Higher Power
'command any thing contrary to God's Word, they ſhould not
'be obey'd; notwithſtanding there ſhould be ſuch modeſty and
'ſoberneſs uſed, as ſhould be without all violence, force, rebellion,
'as *Peter* and *John* uſed, ſaying, *God is more to be obeyed than Man*;
'and ſo in ſaying of truth, they continued in the truth, without
'moving of Sedition, and ſuffered death for the truth, *&c.*

Nor was this only this excellent Biſhop's Opinion, while his King was of his Religion, and friend to his Perſon and Principles; but (as Truth is eternal and unalterable, ſo he perſevered in this belief) when Queen *Mary* perſecuted the Church of God, and this worthy Prelate in a particular manner; for in his Letters juſt before his death ſet out, by *Miles Coverdale* Biſhop of *Exon* his fellow Confeſſor, he frequently inculcates this Doctrin. ——— *Remember ye be the workmen of the Lord, and called into his Vineyard, there to labour till eventide, that ye may receive your peny, which is more worth than all the Kings of the Earth; but he, that calleth us into his vineyard, hath not told us, how ſore, or how fervently the Sun ſhall trouble us in our labour; but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterneſs thereof*

The Martyrs Letters *Lond.* 1564. 4to. p. 120.

thereof unto him, who can, and will ſo moderate all afflictions, that no man ſhall have more laid upon him, than in Chriſt he ſhall be able to bear; ——— theſe days be dangerous and full of peril, but yet let us p. 136. *comfort our ſelves in calling to remembrance the days of our forefathers, upon whom the Lord ſent ſuch troubles, that many hundreds, yea many thouſands died for the teſtimony of* Jeſus Chriſt, *both men and women, ſuffering with patience and conſtancy, as much cruelty as Tyrants could deviſe, and ſo departed out of this miſerable World to the Bliſs everlaſting. ——— Who would not now rather than to offend ſo merciful a* p. 139. *God, fly this wicked Realm, as your moſt Chriſtian Brother, and many other have done; or elſe with boldneſs of heart, and patience of the Spirit bear manfully the Croſs, even unto the death? ——— Albeit I know,* p. 141 *that all thoſe which ſeek God's honour, and the furtherance of his Goſpel be accounted the Queens Enemies, altho we daily pray for her Grace, and never think her harm; but we muſt be content to ſuffer ſlander, and patiently to bear all ſuch injuries. Nevertheleſs this is out of doubt, that the Queens Highneſs hath no authority to compel any man to believe any thing contrary to God's word; neither may the Subject give her Grace that Obedience; in caſe he do, his Soul is loſt for ever. Our bodies,* ☜ *goods, and lives be at her Highneſs commandment, and ſhe ſhall have them, as of true Subjects; but the Soul of man for Religion is bound to none, but unto God and his holy Word. ——— Seeing therefore we* p. 148, 149 *live for this life among ſo many, and great perils and dangers, we muſt be well aſſured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them, as they be ſent to us from God; we muſt alſo aſſure our ſelves, that there is no other remedy for Chriſtians in the time of trouble, than Chriſt himſelf hath appointed us. In St.* Luke *he giveth us this commandment,* ye ſhall poſſeſs your lives in patience, *ſaith he; in the which words he giveth us both commandment, what to do, and alſo great conſolation and comfort in all troubles; he ſheweth alſo what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for in troubles; and when troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient, and* in no caſe *violently, nor ſeditiouſly to reſiſt our perſecutors, becauſe God hath ſuch care and charge* ☜ *of us, that he will keep in the midſt of all troubles the very hairs of our heads, ſo that not one of them ſhall fall away without the will, and pleaſure of our Heavenly Father. ——— Wherefore the Chriſtian Man's Faith muſt be always upon the Reſurrection of Chriſt, when he is in* p. 150. *trouble; and in that glorious Reſurrection he ſhall not only ſee continual and perpetual joy and conſolation, but alſo the victory and triumph of all perſecution, trouble, ſin, death, hell, &c. — the pains alſo they vex us withal for the time, if they tarry with us as long as we live;* p. 153. *yet,*

yet, when death cometh, they ſhall avoid and give place to ſuch joys, as be prepared for us in Chriſt; for no pains of the World be perpetual, and whether they ſhall afflict us for all the time of our mortal life, we know not; for they be the Servants of God to go, and to come as he commandeth them. But we muſt take heed, we meddle not forcibly, nor ſeditiouſly to put away the perſecution appointed unto us by God; but remember Chriſt's ſaying, poſſeſs your lives by your patience; *and in this commandment God requireth in every Man and Woman this patient obedience. He ſaith not, it is ſufficient that other Holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, and Martyrs continued their lives in patience, and patient ſuffering the troubles of this World; but Chriſt ſaith to every one of his People, by your own patience ye ſhall continue your life. ——— Now therefore as our Profeſſion and Religion requireth patience outwardly* without reſiſtance and force; *ſo requireth it patience of the mind, and not to be angry with God, although he uſe us, that be his own creatures, as him liſteth,* &c.

Nor is it to be pretermitted, that Miles Coverdale *Biſhop of* Exon, *who publiſhed the Letters of Biſhop* Hooper, *and other the Martyrs, in his* Epiſtle to the Chriſtian Reader *praiſeth God for theſe and ſuch other Monuments, which he had preſerved and brought to light by his ſingular great providence; becauſe the more nigh that mens words, and works approach unto the moſt wholſom ſayings, and fruitful doings of the old ancient Saints and choſen Children of God (which loved not only to hear his word, but alſo to live thereafter) the more worthy are they to be eſteemed, embraced, and followed; ——— and we have juſt cauſe to rejoyce, that we have been familiar, and acquainted with ſome of thoſe, which walked in the trade of their footſteps; for the which cauſe it doth us good to read, and hear not the lying Legends of feigned, falſe, counterfeited, and Popiſh Canonized Saints; ——— but ſuch true, holy, and approved Hiſtories, Monuments, Orations, Epiſtles, and Letters, as do ſet forth unto us the bleſſed behavior of God's dear Servants.* By which it appears, that he was of their opinion in this, as well as other Primitive Doctrins of the Reformed Church of *England*, in oppoſition to the Novel, and falſe aſſertions of the Church of *Rome*; and ſo we have another eminent Confeſſor of thoſe early days of the Reformation, atteſting the truth in the point of *Non-reſiſtance*.

It is alſo remarkable, that at that time the Proteſtants were no contemptible party of Men in the Nation, that Queen *Mary* had been diſinherited by *Act of Parliament (a Bill of Excluſion* paſt into the formality of a Law) and that for illegitimacy, as it is their decla-

declared; that the Crown was given to another by the Will of *Edward* VI. that Queen *Mary* was both a Papiſt and a Perſecutor, and turn'd the Proteſtant Biſhops out of their Sees, even before a *Parliament* made it Law; and yet the Holy Men of thoſe days in their Letters to their Friends and Followers, treat only of Patience and Submiſſion to Providence, of looking to our Bleſſed Saviour, and ſuffering without Murmuring, as he did, and that to reſiſt even the Queen was a damnable ſin; when they wanted not abettors, nor opportunities of conveying their thoughts privately to them, and I am ſure they were not to ſeek for courage and reſolution, who ſo frankly and undauntedly condemn'd the Popiſh Superſtitions and Idolatries, when they had nothing in proſpect, but Priſons and Executions; nay thoſe Proteſtants, who had given their Votes for her Excluſion repented of their crimes, while others of the ſame belief ſtood by her in her diſtreſs, and placed her on her Throne.

SECT. III.

In the Reign of this Pious, and Learned Prince *Edward* VI. Old Father *Latimer**, *(that Old True Apoſtle of our Engliſh Nation and of Chriſt*, as Biſhop *Ridley*, his Fellow Priſoner, and Companion in Martyrdom calls him, that generous and honeſt Man; who when the *Parliament Anno* 1539. had confirmed the Six Articles (the Whip with Six Cords, as they were juſtly called) voluntarily choſe to abandon his Biſhoprick, rather than conform to ſo unjuſt a Law, and abſtained Ten years from Preaching, till after the death of *Henry* VIII. he was reſtored;) did notwithſtanding his great plainneſs, *dominari in concionibus*, filling the Pulpit with a mighty Grace, nor was he wanting in thoſe days to bear witneſs to this Doctrin; for in his explanation of that Petition of Our Holy Saviours Prayer, *Thy will be done*, he ſays, *Our Rebels, which roſe about two years ago in* Norfolk *and* Devonſhire, *they conſider not this Petition; they ſaid it with their lips only, but not with their hearts. Almighty God hath reveal'd his will, as concerning Magiſtrates, how he will have them to be honour'd and obey'd; they were utterly againſt it; he revealed this his will in many places of the Scripture, but eſpecially by St.* Peter, *where he ſaith,* ſubditi eſtote omni humanæ creaturæ -- *that is to ſay in effect,* be ſubject to all the common Laws made by Men of Autority, by the King's Majeſty, *&c. be ſubject unto them, and obey them, ſaith God* ——— *and here is but one exception, that is, againſt*

* In *Coverdale's* Collect. of Letters. p. 56.

Godwin's Annals p. 172. 173. 229.

4th. Serm. on the Lord's Prayer. p. 142. *Lond.* 1635.

1 *Pet.* 2. 13.

against God; when Laws are made against God and his word, then I ought more to obey God than Man; *then I may refuse to obey with a good Conscience; yet for all that, I may not rise up against the Magistrates, nor make any uproar; for* if I do so, I sin damnably. *I must be content to suffer whatsoever God shall lay upon me, yet I may not obey their wicked Laws to do them;* only in such a case *Men may refuse to obey, else in all other matters we ought to obey, what Laws soever they make as concerning outward things we ought to obey, and* in no wise to rebel, *though they be never so* hard, noysom, *and* hurtful. *Our duty is to obey, and to commit all the matters to God, not doubting, but that God will punish them, when they do contrary to their office and calling; therefore tarry till God correct them,* we may not take upon us to reform them, *for it is no part of our duty: If the Rebels, I say, had consider'd this; think you, they would have preferr'd their own will before God's will? for doing as they did, they prayed against themselves.*

*Id. Serm. on Ep 21. Sund. after Trinity p. 196, 197

Subjects may not of their own private autority take the sword, or rebel against their King; for when they rebel, they serve the Devil, for they have no commission of God so to do, but of their own head they rise against God, *that is,* against the King, *to whom they owe obedience, and so worthily be punish'd: therefore, good Christian People, beware of rebelling against our Sovereign Lord the King. —— The calling of the Subjects is to be obedient unto the Magistrates, not to rebel against them; for if they do, they strive against God himself, and shall be punish'd of him.*

‖Id. 24. Sund. after Trin. p. 216.

‖Id. Serm. on the Twelfth day. p. 291.

Another cause (why Christ was circumcised) is, to be obedient unto common orders; therefore he would suffer rather to be circumcised, than to give occasion of burly burly or uproar; for the will of the Father was, that Subjects should obey Magistrates, and keep orders; Subjecti estote cuivis potestati, be obedient unto them, *&c. look what Laws and Ordinances are made by the Magistrates, we ought to obey them; —— and this is to be understood as well in spiritual matters, as temporal matters; so far forth as the Laws be not against God and his Word: When they will move us to do any thing against God, then we must say,* Oportet magis obedire Deo, quam hominibus, we must be more obedient unto God than Man; yet we may not withstand them with stoutness, or rise up against them, *but suffer whatsoever they shall do unto us; for we may* for nothing in the World *rebel against the Office of God, that is to say, against the Magistrate.*

Chap.

Chap. III.

The Doctrine of Passive Obedience *in the Reign of Queen* Mary.

SECT. I.

UPon the Death of King Edward VI. so prevalent were the two Families of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk*; that they made a great Party to oppose the legal Succession of the Right Heir, their abettors being countenanc'd, and encouraged by the last Testament of King *Edward*; but, as *Fuller* rightly observes, the *Will* of the Duke of *Northumberland*; but whatever was done in defence of the Lady *Jane Grey*, was contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; which taught her Children better, and more wholsom Doctrine; and though Archbishop *Cranmer* were one of the Subscribers to that Will, and to the Letter sent after *Edward* the sixth's Death to Queen *Mary*; yet there is much to be said in Apology for him. For first, *Cranmer* ‖ of all the Privy Council was the last that stood out, having at first positively refused to sign the Will; and after much reasoning, and many arguments urged for the Queens Illegitimation, required a longer time of deliberation; and at last, could be overcome by nothing, but the King's own restless importunity: To whom the Archbishop had (as he ought) a great regard, and this his resolution so prevail'd upon his Judges, that, though at first they committed him to the *Tower* with the Lady *Jane*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Sons for *High Treason*; yet, though they prosecuted his Fellow Prisoners on that Statute, they let fall their Action against him, and prosecuted him only for Heresie, to his great joy, as *Fox* relates it. The same ‖ Author assuring us, that Dr. *Heath*, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, did affirm, to one of Archbishop *Cranmer*'s Friends; *that notwithstanding his Attainder of Treason, the Queens Determination at that time was, that* Cranmer *should only have been deprived of his Archbishoprick, and had a sufficient Living assign'd him* ——— *with commandment to keep his House without meddling in matters of Religion.* Secondly, that the Archbishop was encou-

*Cent. 16. p. 1.

‖ Heyl. Hist. of the Refor. p. 152. *Fox*, *Burnet*, and *Godwin*, &c.

Fox. tom. 2. p. 1289.

‖ p. 1698.

raged ſo to do, * by the Example of all the Nobles of the Realm, and the States and Judges (Sir *James Hales* only excepted, for the Lord Chief Juſtice *Mountague* had, after much ado, ſubſcribed) the Lawyers eſpecially aſſuring him, that it was no breach of his former Oath ſo to do. And it is well known, that if any thing exaſperated Queen *Mary* againſt him, it was not the ſigning of King *Edward*'s Will, but her Mother's Divorce, which *Cranmer* ſo actively promoted.

* Id. ibid.

Thirdly, The Reaſons were ſpecious, both from * Law and Policy, as they were then ſtiled that both the Siſters were declared illegitimate, and that by Act of Parliament; and that were they not ſo, yet being but of the half Blood to the King, by the Law they could not ſucceed: nor could any Foreigner by the ſame Law. And that the Ducheſs of *Suffolk* had waved her Title, and then the Right was in the Lady *Jane:* that this was the only way to preſerve the Nation from the Vaſſalage and Servitude of the Biſhop of *Rome*; and from ſubjecting the Realm to Foreigners, if the Siſters ſhould marry out of it.

* Heyl. Hiſt. Reform. ann. 1553. p. 151, 152. Burn. par. 2. p. 223.

Fourthly, Dr. *Burnet* affirms, that as nothing, but the King's own importunities could prevail on the Archbiſhop, ſo it's probable, that he ſigned it only as a Witneſs, and not as a Counſellor, according to a Diſtinction then found out by Sir *William Cecil*, Secretary of State.

Par. 2 hiſt. l. 1. p. 224.

But laſtly, This act was no Declaration of the Archbiſhop's Judgment in the Caſe of the Deprivation, Depoſition, or reſiſting of Kings; againſt which he proteſted through the whole tenor of his life. He it was that was, if not the Author, * yet the main Contriver, Approver and Publiſher of the *Book of the Reformation*, the *Catechiſm*, with the Book of *Homilies*, as alſo of the *Neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſtian Man.* In which Books the Power of Kings, and the Neceſſity of Obedience, together with the wretched Eſtate of Rebels, and ſuch as reſiſt Authority is plainly ſet forth. He calls the Inſurrection againſt † King *John* (as much as others magnifie it, and what followed it) plain *Rebellion.* And having contrary to that Truth ſuffered himſelf to be over-perſuaded in this one particular, he publickly acknowledges to the World his Crime; and begs God's, and the Queen's pardon for what he had done; as appears by more than one of his Letters, which are preſerved to this day, being ſet out by *Miles Coverdale*, Biſhop of *Exon*, and ſome of them by *John Fox*; and by this in particular.

* Fox. p. 1697.

† Vide Herbert Henr. 8. p. 457

Thomas

Thomas Cranmer, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *to* Queen Mary.

'Moſt lamentably mourning, and moaning himſelf unto your Coverd. Collect. fol. 1, 2, &c.
'Highneſs, *Thomas Cranmer*, altho unworthy either to write, or
'ſpeak unto your Highneſs, yet having no perſon, that I know, to
'be Mediator for me, and knowing your pitiful Ears ready to hear
'all pitiful Complaints, and ſeeing ſo many before to have felt your
'abundant clemency in like caſe, and now conſtrain'd moſt lamen-
'tably, and with moſt penitent and ſorrowful heart, to ask mercy
'and pardon for my heinous Folly and Offence, in conſenting, and
'following the laſt Will of our Sovereign Lord King *Edward* the
'Sixth, your Grace's Brother, which Will, God knoweth, God he ☞
'knoweth, I never liked, nor never any thing grieved me ſo much,
'as that your Grace's Brother did; and if by any means it had been
'in me to have letted the making of that Will, I would have done
'it; and what I ſaid therein, as well to his Council, as to himſelf,
'divers of your Majeſties Council can report, but none ſo well as
'the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Lord *Darcy* —— which two
'were then preſent at the Communication between the King's Ma-
'jeſty and me. I deſired to talk with the King's Majeſty alone, but
'I could not be ſuffered, and ſo I failed of my purpoſe; for if I
'might have communed with the King alone, and at good leiſure,
'my truſt was, that I ſhould have altered him from that purpoſe;
'but they being preſent, my labor was in vain. Then, when I
'could not diſſuade him from the ſaid Will, and both he and his
'Privy Council alſo informed me, that the Judges, and his Learned
'Council, ſaid, That the Act of entailing the Crown, made by his
'Father, could not be prejudicial to him, but that he being in poſ-
'ſeſſion of the Crown might make his Will thereof; this ſeemed
'very ſtrange to me; but being the Sentence of the Judges, and
'other his Learned Council in the Laws of this Realm (as both he
'and his Council informed me) methought it became not me, be-
'ing unlearned to the Law, to ſtand againſt my Prince therein; and
'ſo at length I was required by the King's Majeſty himſelf to ſet my
'hand to his Will, ſaying, that he truſted, that I alone would not be
'more repugnant to his Will, than the reſt of the Council were
'(which words ſurely grieved my heart very ſore) and ſo I granted
'him to ſubſcribe his Will, and to follow the ſame; which, when I had
'ſet my hand unto, I did it unfeignedly, and without diſſimulation:
'for the which I ſubmit my ſelf moſt humbly unto your Majeſty,

'acknowledging mine Offence with moſt grievous and ſorrowful 'Heart, and beſeeching your mercy and pardon; which, my Heart 'giveth me, ſhall not be denied unto me, being granted before to 'ſo many, which travelled not ſo much to diſſuade both the King 'and his Council, as I did. And whereas it is containad in two 'Acts of Parliament, as I underſtand, that I with the Duke of '*Northumberland* ſhould deviſe, and compaſs the Deprivation of your 'Majeſty from your Royal Crown, ſurely it is untrue; for the 'Duke never opened his mouth unto me to move me any ſuch 'matter, nor I him; nor his Heart was not ſuch towards me (ſeek-'ing long time my Deſtruction) that he would either truſt me in 'ſuch a matter, or think that I would be perſuaded by him. It was 'other of the Council that moved me, and the King himſelf, the 'Duke of *Northumberland* not being preſent. Neither before, nei-'ther after had I any privy communication with the Duke about 'that matter, ſaving, that openly, at the Council Table, the Duke 'ſaid unto me, that it became not me to ſay to the King, as I did, 'when I went about to diſſuade him from the ſaid Will.

'Now as concerning the State of Religion, as it is uſed in this 'Realm of *England* at this preſent; if it pleaſe your Higneſs to li-'cenſe me, I would gladly write my mind unto your Majeſty. I 'will never, God willing, be Author of Sedition, to move Sub-'jects from the Obedience of their Heads and Rulers, which is an 'Offence moſt deteſtable. If I have uttered my mind to your 'Majeſty, being a Chriſtian Queen, and Governor of this Realm '(of whom I am moſt aſſuredly perſuaded, that your Gracious In-'tent, is above all other things, to prefer God's true Word, his 'Honor and Glory) if I have uttered, I ſay, my mind unto your 'Majeſty, then I ſhall think my ſelf diſcharged; for it lieth not in 'me, but in your Grace only, to ſee the Reformation of things that 'be amiſs. To private Subjects it appertaineth not to reform things, 'but quietly to ſuffer that they cannot amend; yet nevertheleſs to 'ſhew your Majeſty my mind in things appertaining unto God, me-'think it my Duty, knowing that I do, and conſidering the place 'which in times paſt I have occupied. Yet will I not preſume 'thereunto without your Grace's Pleaſure firſt known, and your Li-'cenſe obtained, whereof I, moſt humbly proſtrate to the ground, do 'beſeech your Majeſty, and I ſhall not ceaſe daily to pray to Almighty 'God for the good preſervation of your Majeſty from all Enemies, 'bodily and ghoſtly, and for the encreaſe of all Goodneſs, Heavenly 'and Earthly, during my life; as I do, and will do, whatſoever 'come of me. From *Oxford*, *Apr.* 23. And

And in his Letter to the Lords of the Council, a little before his Martyrdom, ſent by Dr. *Weſton*, and by him opened, and kept, he expreſſeth himſelf after the ſame manner: 'In moſt humble wiſe 'ſueth unto your Right Honorable Lordſhips, *Thomas Cranmer*, 'Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, beſeeching the ſame to be a means for 'me unto the Queen's Highneſs for her mercy and pardon. Some 'of you know, by what means I was brought and trained unto the 'Will of our late Sovereign Lord King *Edward* the Sixth, and what 'I ſpake againſt the ſame; wherein I refer me to the Reports of 'your Honors. *Ibid. Fol. 16. & apud Fox. tom. 2. p. 1331.*

And if ſtill this particular Act of the Archbiſhop be urged, as an Argument what his perſuaſion was as to the Rights of Monarchs, it may as well be argued, that Popery was then the true Religion, becauſe he once ſigned the Articles of it; whereas his Recantation, and his voluntary burning of his Right Hand were a true Diſcovery of his diſowning the one, as this his reiterated Application to the Queen for her pardon, is a demonſtration of his renouncing the other.

SECT. II.

And as the Archbiſhop refuſed a long time to ſign this Will; ſo the Lord Chief Juſtice * *Montague* refuſed for a long time to draw it up, nor would at laſt be brought to a compliance, till he had his pardon ſign'd for ſo doing, and had been called Traitor by the Duke of *Northumberland* for his refuſal; his own *Narrative*, which *Fuller* hath publiſhed, declares, 'That being *an old weak man, and without comfort*, '*in great fear and dread*, as were his Brethren, *with weeping eyes and* '*ſorrowful hearts* they deviſed the ſaid Book according to ſuch Ar- 'ticles as were deviſed with the King's proper hand above and be- 'neath, and on every ſide, (he thinking in his Conſcience, that the 'King never invented this matter of himſelf, but by ſome won- 'derful falſe compaſs) *Montague* determining with himſelf to be 'no Executor of the ſaid Device, whatſoever ſhould chance of 'it. —Nor did he ever execute any Commiſſion, Proclamation, 'or other Commandment from the Lady *Jane*, or her Council, but 'commanded his Son, and Heir, with twenty Men, to join himſelf 'with the *Buckinghamſhire* Men for the Defence of Queen *Mary*. * *Heylin. ubi ſupr. p. 152. & Fuller. Ch. hiſt. l. 8. p. 2, 3, &c.*

By this it appears, that it was fear that ſwayed the greateſt part of the Council, and Judges at that time; I ſay, the greateſt part of the Judges, becauſe * Sir *James Hales*, one of the Juſtices of the

'Common

Heyl. ubi supr. ann. 1553. p. 192, 195. Fuller. ubi supr. p. 6. Burnet. par. 2. l. 1. p. 223. Fox. tom. 2. p. 1392. * Tom. 2. p. 1278, 1282.

'Common Pleas, carried the Honor of a reſolute and conſtant 'Man; a Man both religious and upright, whom no importunity 'could prevail upon to ſubſcribe contrary to both Law and Con'ſcience, and tho he was afterward moſt unworthily requited by 'Queen *Mary* for it, yet the Council would not find a Bill againſt 'him for High Treaſon upon this very account. He was a Man, '* ſays *Fox*, both favouring true Religion, and alſo an upright Judge, as 'any hath been noted in this Realm. Of both which excellent Qua'lifications he gave a publick demonſtration, in that after the Queen's 'countenancing and eſtabliſhing of the Maſs, he at a publick 'Aſſize in *Kent* gave Charge upon the Statutes made in the time 'of *Henry* the Eighth, and *Edward* the Sixth, for the Supremacy, 'and Religion: for which, notwithſtanding he had adventured his 'Life in Queen *Mary*'s Cauſe, in that he would not ſubſcribe to the 'diſheriting of her by the King's Will, he was impriſoned in the '*Marſhalſea*, *Counter* and *Fleet*, and cruelly handled.

It is true, the Severities of his Uſage in Priſon, and the frightful Accounts, which the *Warden* of the *Fleet* gave him, of the Tortures appointed for Hereticks, made him very melancholy, in as much as he was, as *Fox* continues his Story, being perverted by Dr. *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, &c. contented to ſay as they willed him (or as Biſhop *Ridley*, in his Letter to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, words it, he *recanted, perverted* by Dr. *Moreman*.) And ſo juſt ſometimes are God's proceedings with even a good man, when he forſakes the ways of Truth, as to leave him to walk in the paths of his own chuſing to his ruin: † for the Conſideration of this Apoſtacy ſo wrought upon him, that he attempted in Priſon to diſpatch himſelf with a Penknife, and after his Releaſement was found drowned in a ſmall River.

* Fox. tom. 2. p. 1331, 1393. † Conf. Bradfords Letter in Coverdale's Collect. p. 312.

SECT. III.

* Id. ibid. p. 1279, 1280. Heyl. Bur. Full. ubi ſupra.

And having entered into this Story, I ſhall proceed a little further to ſhew, how the Proteſtants of * *Suffolk* were the Men, who firſt reſorted to Queen *Mary*, when ſhe was at *Fremlingham* Caſtle, and gave her ſuch aid and aſſiſtance, as diſpirited *Northumberland* and his Army, and baffled all the Deſigns of her Adverſaries. And that it may be fully known, what Principles ſwayed thoſe good Men to aſſiſt their lawful Prince, tho a known Papiſt (and of a ſevere temper) againſt an Uſurper (a profeſt Proteſtant, and of other moſt amiable Qualifications) it is worth the conſidering,

* that

*that when about the latter end of 1555, or the beginning of 1556, Commissioners were sent by Queen *Mary* and the Council into *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, (among other Counties) to enquire of matters of Religion, an humble Supplication was exhibited by certain Inhabitants of the County of *Norfolk*, wherein they profess, 'That they were poor men, but true, faithful and obedient Subjects, who as we have ever heretofore, so intend we with God's Grace, to continue in Christian Obedience unto the end; and (according to the word of God) with all reverend fear of God to do our bounden duty to all those superior Powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as S. Paul saith, Let every soul be subject, &c. —— These Lessons (right honorable Commissioners) we have learned of the holy Word of God in our Mother Tongue, 1. That the Authority of a King, Queen, &c. is no tyrannical Usurpation, but a just, holy, lawful and necessary Estate for man to be governed by; and that the same is of God, the Fountain and Author of Righteousness. 2. That to obey the same in all things (not against God) is to obey God; and to resist them, is to resist God: therefore as to obey God in his Ministers and Magistrates bringeth life; so to resist God in them bringeth punishment and death. The same Lesson have we learn'd of S. Peter, saying, Be ye subject to all human Ordinances, &c. —— After which, with the Resolution and Courage of true Christian Confessors, they profess, That the Religion lately set forth by King Edward, is such, in our Consciences, as every Christian Man is bound to confess to be the Truth of God — to embrace the same in heart, to confess it with mouth, and (if need require) lose and forsake, not only House and Land, &c. but also (if God will so call them) gladly to suffer all manner of Persecution, and to lose their Lives in the Defence of God's Word and Truth.—— We have learned the holy Prayer made for the Queen's Majesty, wherein we learn, , that her Power and Authority is of God, therefore we pray to God for her, that she, and all Magistrates under her, may rule according to God's Word. —— We think, at present, the unquiet multitude had more need to have these things more often, and earnestly beaten and driven into them (especially given in many places to stir, and trouble) than to take from them that blessed Doctrin; whereby only they may to their Salvation be kept in quiet. —— After which, reflecting upon the Assistance which they and the *Suffolk* Men gave the Queen against the Lady *Jane Grey*, they subjoin, We protest before God, we think, if the holy Word of God had not taken some root among us, we could not in times past have done that poor Duty of ours, which we did, in assisting the Queen, our most dear Sovereign, against her Grace's mortal Foe, that then sought her Destruction. It was our bounden Duty, and we thank God

Fox tom. 2. p. 1726, 1727.

Rom. 13.

1 Pet. 2.

P. 1728.

God for his Word and Grace, that we then did some part of our bounden
P. 1729. *service —— all our Bodies, Goods, Lands and Lives are ready to do her Grace faithful Obedience, and true service of all Commandments, that are not against God and his Word. But in things that import denial of Christ, and refusal of his Word and Communion, we cannot consent or agree unto it; for we have bound our selves in Baptism to be Christ's Disciples,* &c. —— *We learn that true Obedience is to obey God, King of all Kings, and Lord of all Lords; and for him, in him, and not against him and his Word, to obey the Princes and Magistrates of this World, who are not truly obeyed, when God is disobeyed, nor yet disobeyed, when God is faithfully obeyed. We think not good by any unlawful Stir or Commotion to seek remedy; but intend, by God's Grace, to obey her Majesty in all things not against God and his holy Word. —— If Persecution shall ensue (which some threaten us with) we desire the Heavenly Father (according to his promise) to look from Heaven, to hear our cry, to judge between us and our Adversaries, and to give us faith, strength and patience, to continue faithfully unto the end, and to shorten these evil days for his chosen's sake.*

It is also remarkable, that the Generality of the common People stood firm to their Duty in those days, and that the Council themselves at last repented of what they had done, and proclaimed the
Fox. pag. 1280. Queen (as did also *Northumberland* at *Cambridge*) and when Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who was condemned to die (with the Duke and Sir *John Gates*) was to be beheaded, and he professed his Faith, that he had learned in the Gospel, (which *Dudley* shamefully had renounced, if he ever sincerely professed it) so he lamented, that he had not lived more Gospel-like; and I doubt not but he meant it of his Rebellion.

* Letter to her Father, in *Fox.* p. 1291. See *Godwin*'s Annals, *ann.* 1553. Nay, the Lady * *Jane* her self averrs, that her *death was hastened* by her Father: 'That she was *innocent of the fact, being constrained,* 'and *continually assayed,* that she *only seemed to consent*, and *therein* 'grievously offended the Queen, and her Laws, (as did also her Father, the Duke of *Suffolk*, at his death, acknowledging, 'That he had 'offended the Queen, and her Laws, and thereby was justly condemned to die, desiring all men to be obedient, and praying God, 'that his death might be an example to all men.) *Having*, as she
Id. p. 1334. 'says, *out of Obedience to her Father and Mother, grievously sinned,* and 'offered violence to her self. Averring further, that her *inforced Honor*
P. 1293. 'never blended with her innocent Heart. —— For as *Fox* observes, *she* 'and her Husband did but ignorantly accept that, which the others had 'willingly devised, and by open Proclamation consented to take from

others,

others, and give to them. By which laſt paſſage, and by his calling Sir *Thomas Wyatt*'s Conſpiracy a *Rebellion* (as it truly was, tho he be miſtaken in ſaying it was enter'd into for Religion, as the firſt part of this Hiſtory makes appear, *Wyatt* himſelf condemning it on the Scaffold, ſays *Fuller*) I am inclined to reckon that induſtrious *Martyrologiſt* among the other aſſertors of this truth; and having thus occaſionally mentioned Sir *Thomas Wyatt*, I cannot but ſubjoyn my conjecture, that he was much ſwayed in his Undertaking, by a Book written by *Theodore Baſil*, and publiſh'd *Ann.* 1543. dedicated to *Wyatt*, called *The true Defence of Peace*; wherein he magnifies the Love that every one owes to his Country, and how honorable it is to fight and dye for it. pag. 1289. l. 8. p. 14.

And it is further obſervable, that when he and his Army came into *Southwark*, and ſent word to Dr. *Sands* (Mr. *Saunders*, and other Preachers Priſoners there) that the Gates ſhould be ſet open for them all, Dr. *Sands* anſwered, *I was committed hither by Order, I will be diſcharged by like Order, or I will never depart hence*; and ſo anſwered the reſt, deſpiſing even Liberty it ſelf from an unjuſt impriſonment, to which they were confin'd by their lawful Prince, when it was offer'd them by a Rebel.——And when Sir *William Saintloe* was accus'd by the Council, that he knew of *Wyatt*'s Rebellion; he proteſted he was a true man both to God and his Prince, defying all Traytors and Rebels: And the Lady *Elizabeth* (afterward Queen) acquitted herſelf with a becoming bravery of the ſame Accuſation. *Id.* p. 1893. *Id.* p. 1896.

SECT. IV.

As *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were always dear Friends, Colleagues in the holy Epiſcopal Office and Dignity, and Fellow-Confeſſors and Martyrs; ſo did their Opinions exactly conſpire in this Point. For in his * Letter to Dr. *Grindal*, then at *Francfort* (afterward Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) *Ann.* 1555. he prays heartily for the happy Delivery of Queen *Mary* (when it was generally believed ſhe was with Child) tho he knew it would bring him the ſooner to the Stake;—*Poſt partum Reginæ, quem jam quotidiè expectamus, quemque Deus pro ſui nominis gloriâ dignetur benè illi fortunare, &c.* i. e. *After the lying in of the Queen, which we every day expect, and which may God for the glory of his Name vouchſafe to make happy to her; we ſhall then immediately look for nothing elſe, but a triumphant Crown of our Confeſſion in the Lord againſt our ancient Adverſary:* And by this he

* In *Coverdale*'s Collect. f. 56. & apud *Fox.* tom. 2. pag. 1570.

made amends for his preaching up the Lady *Janes* Title at S. *Paul's* Croſs, in which matter, as Biſhop *Godwin* † ſays, *I wiſh, he had not erred.*

† Annal. *An.* 1553.

To what hath been ſaid of *Saunders, Bradford,* and others, in the firſt part of the Hiſtory, may be added, that ſuch as was their belief, when they were admitted to a Conference one with another, ſuch alſo was their Faith in this Point, when they ſingly gave their Judgment. Mr. *Bradford* in his *Letter to the City of* London, Feb. 11. 1555. *My right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our Sins, repent us of our former evil life, heartily and earneſtly purpoſe to amend our Lives in all things, continually watch in Prayer, diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy Scriptures, labor after our Vocation to amend our Brethren; let us reprove the Works of Darkneſs, let us fly from all Idolatry, let us abhor the Antichriſtian and* Romiſh *rotten Service, deteſt the Popiſh Maſs, forſake their* Romiſh *God, prepare our ſelves to the Croſs, be obedient to all that be in authority in all things, that be not againſt God and his word; for then anſwer with the Apoſtles,* It is more meet to obey God than man; *howbeit,* never for any thing reſiſt, *or riſe againſt the Magiſtrates; avenge not your ſelves, but commit your Cauſe to the Lord, to whom Vengeance pertaineth, and he in his time will reward it.*

Ap. *Fox.* tom. 2. pag. 1477. and in *Coverd.* Coll. p. 25$\frac{4}{5}$.

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And when *Weſton* told *Bradford* how the People were by him procur'd to withſtand the Queen, *Bradford* anſwering again, bad him *Hang him up as a Traytor and a Thief, if ever he encouraged any to Rebellion.*——And in the Poſtſcript to his *Mother, Brethren,* and *Siſters,* he exhorts them to be obedient to the higher Powers, that is, *In no Point, either in hand, or tongue, rebel, but rather, if they command that, which with good Conſcience you cannot obey, lay your Head on the Block, and ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall do or ſay; by Patience poſſeſs your Souls.* And of the Will of King *Edward* the Sixth, he gives his opinion in his Letter to Sir *J. Hales,* wherein after he had given him excellent Advice, and ſet forth the Advantages of Perſecution for a good Cauſe, and commended him, that he judged after Faith's fetch (as he ſtiles it) and the effects or ends of things, *looking not on the things which are ſeen, but on the things which are not ſeen;* he adds, *Let the Worldlings weigh things, and look upon the Affairs of Men with their worldly and corporal Eyes, as did many in ſubſcription of the King's laſt Will; and therefore they did that, for the which they beſhrew'd themſelves: But let us look on things with other manner of Eyes, as (God be prais'd) you did, in not doing that which you were deſired, and driven at to have done: You then beheld things, not as a man, but,*

Ap. *Fox.* tom. 2. pag. 1471. Ap. eund. p. 1476. and *Cover.* p. 294.

Ap. eund. p. 1485. and *Cover.* p. 287.

but as a man of God, &c.——*And in his* Admonition to certain professors and lovers of the Gospel, to beware they fall not from it, in consenting to the *Romish* Religion: *Among other holy Exhortations and Cautions, my dearly beloved repent, be sober, and watch in Prayer, be obedient, and after your Vocations shew your Obedience to the higher Powers in all things that are not against God's Word, therein acknowledg the sovereign Power of the Lord; howbeit, so that ye be no Rebels, nor Rebellers* for no Cause, *but because with good Conscience you cannot obey, be patient Sufferers, and the Glory and good Spirit of God shall dwell upon us.* Ap. *Fox.* p. 1494. *Coverd.* pag. 282, 283.

In his *Meditation on the Fifth Commandment*, written in the days of *Edward* the Sixth, (*See pag.* 123.) he thus devoutly expresses himself; *In this Commandment thou (O good Lord) settest before mine Eyes them, whom thou for Order sake, and the more commodity of man in this life hast set in degree and authority before me, comprehending them under the name of* Father *and* Mother, *that I might know, that*——*I am of thee commanded to do that which is most equal and just (as the very Brute Beasts do teach us) that with childly Affection and Duty, I should behave my self towards them,* i. e. *I should honour them; which comprehendeth in it Love, Thankfulness, and Obedience, and that, not so much because they be my Parents (for it may be they will neglect the doing of their Duties towards me), but because thou commandest me so to do, whatsoever they do.*——*And whereas thou addest a Promise of long Life, we may gather, that a civil Life doth much please thee, and receiveth here Rewards, especially if we lead it for Conscience to thy Law: And on the contrary part, a disobedient Life to them that be in authority, will bring the sooner thy Wrath and Vengeance in this Life. Thus speaks the holiest and devoutest of all Queen* Mary's *Martyrs, as* * Fuller *styles him.* *v.* Meditat. on the Lord's Pr. and Com. printed *London*, 1622. pag. 117. pag. 118, 119. * Ch. Hist. l. 8. p. 21.

SECT. V.

To the holy *Bradford* it is requisite to joyn his dear Friend the zealous *Lawrence Saunders*, the man of God, who, said he, *was in Prison*, * till *he was in Prison*, so fervently did he covet Martyrdom) they both being entrusted at the same time with the Cure of Souls in the City of *London*; he in his Letter to the *Professors of the Gospel in the Town of* Litchfield, thus exhorts them to stedfastness in the Faith, and Patience; *And now dearly beloved, we be taught by that heavenly Spirit, which our God hath given unto us, to seek Comfort in these times of Affliction, not in hope of Rebellion,* † Ap. *Fox.* tom. 2. p. 1358. *Coverd.* Coll. pag. 188.

or fulfilling unprofitable, yea, peſtilent Welch Prophecies; *but in the moſt comfortable and glad tidings of the heavenly Promiſes aſſured in his dear Chriſt.* —— *Let us moſt obediently kiſs the Rod of our heavenly Father, by obedient Submiſſion to avoid all extremity, that man may do unto us, rather than to forgo Faith and a good Conſcience.*

When the good Biſhop of *Rome* was hurried to Martyrdom in the *Decian* Perſecution, his Deacon S. *Lawrence* would not be left behind: Nor is it fit that *Lawrence Saunders* ſhould appear without his Curate (and Brother in Sufferings) *George Marſh*, who in his *Exhortatory Letter to the Profeſſors of God's Word and true Religion in* Langhton, after much Diſcourſe about Martyrdom, Patience, and Reſolution, ſays, *Give your ſelves continually to all manner of* good Works, *amongſt the which the* chiefeſt *are to be obedient to the Magiſtrates, ſith they are the Ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil, unleſs they command Idolatry and Ungodlineſs, that is to ſay, things contrary unto true Religion; for then ought we to ſay with* Peter, We ought more to obey God than man; *but* in any wiſe *we muſt* beware of Tumult, Inſurrection, Rebellion, *or* Reſiſtance. *The Weapon of a Chriſtian Man in this matter ought to be the Sword of the Spirit, which is God's Word, and Prayer coupled with Humility and due Submiſſion, with readineſs of Heart, rather to dye than to do any Ungodlineſs. Chriſt alſo teacheth us,* that all Power is of God, *yea even the Power of the wicked, which God cauſeth oftentimes to reign for our Sins and Diſobedience towards him and his Word. Whoſoever* then doth reſiſt any Power, doth reſiſt the Ordinance of God, *and ſo purchaſe to himſelf utter Deſtruction and Undoing.* —— *We muſt honour and reverence Princes, and all that be in authority, and pray for them, and be diligent to ſet forth their Profit and Commodity.* —— *And thus I commend you, Brethren, unto God, and the word of his Grace,* &c. And in another Letter of his to ſeveral of his Friends, he exhorts them, *Obey with Reverence all your Superiors, unleſs they command Idolatry or Ungodlineſs.*

Ap. *Fox.* tom. 2. p. 1426. *Coverd.* page 671.

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Fox. page 1428.

Thus alſo that *hearty and zealous man of God,* Mr. *Philpot,* Archdeacon of *Wincheſter,* in his *Letter to the Chriſtian Congregation,* diſcourſing of the Excuſes men make uſe of to hide their Sins, ſays, *Another ſort of Perſons do make themſelves a Cloak for the Rain, under the pretence of Obedience to the Magiſtrates, whom we ought to obey, although they be wicked: But ſuch much learn of* Chriſt, to give to *Ceſar* that that is *Ceſar's,* and to God, that that is due to God: *And with S.* Peter, to obey the higher Powers in the Lord, *albeit they be evil, if they command nothing contrary to God's Word, otherwiſe*

Coverd. page 222.

we

we ought not to obey their Commandments, although we ſhould ſuffer death therefore; as we have the Apoſtles for our Examples herein to follow, who anſwered the Magiſtrates, as we ought to do in this caſe, not obeying their wicked Precepts, ſaying, Judg ye, whether it be more righteous, that we ſhould obey men rather than God.

Nor was this Doctrine peculiar to theſe few Confeſſors in that general Perſecution; for *Rogers*, the Proto-Martyr of that Reign; Dr. *Taylor* of *Hadley*, *Crome*, *Laurence*, and others, as appears by the firſt * Part of this Hiſtory, were of the ſame mind; the contrary Doctrine among thoſe, who called themſelves Proteſtants, being then hardly hatch'd, or but juſt out of the Shell. Thus the Primitive Martyrs, who never declined going to a Stake, unanimouſly declared, that no man of their Society was impriſoned, or brought to ſuffer, as a Traytor againſt the Government, for they had learnt to dye, not to fight for Religion. * page 23.

SECT. VI.

It cannot be denied, that *John Knox* was an early Oppoſer of this truly Chriſtian, Apoſtolical, and Primitive Practice, as the account of the *Troubles of* * Francfort *declares:* But we ought withal to conſider, what our moſt worthy Primate, Archbiſhop *Bancroft* well obſerves †; that whereas ſuch dangerous Doctrines as theſe [*The Authority which Princes have, is given them from the People, and upon occaſion the People may take it away again. — That evil Princes, by the Law of God, ought to be depoſed. — That when Magiſtrates ceaſe to do their Duties (in depoſing evil Princes) then God gives the Sword into the Peoples hands*; and ſuch other like dangerous Poſitions, as he truly calls them] were owned by the *Genevians*, and many of the *Engliſh* that were fled to *Geneva* in the Reign of Queen *Mary*; 'that *the reſt of the learned Men, that fled in that Queens Reign, as* John Scory, William Barlow, Richard Cox, Thomas Becon, John Bale, John Parkhurſt, Edmond Grindal, Edwin Sandys, Alexander Nowel, Robert Wiſdom, John Jewel, *and very many more, having no great affection to* Geneva, *beſtow'd themſelves in* Germany, *eſpecially at* Zurich, Baſil, *and* Francfort; *and maintain'd the Reformation of the Church of* England *in King* Edward's *time; they uſed in their holy Aſſemblies the form of Service, and order of Ceremonies, which were then eſtabliſh'd; and they utterly miſliked and condemned the aforeſaid Propoſitions, as very* ſeditious *and* rebellious, *according to the judgment of all the Reformed Churches (for ought I can learn) both in* Germany

* *v.* firſt part of Hiſt. page 2[illegible].

† Danger. Poſit. &c. lib. 2. c. 1.

Germany *and elſewhere, except* Geneva, *and her Offſpring; beſides they of* Francfort *(as it appeareth) notwithſtanding their grief, that they were conſtrain'd to leave their Country for their Conſcience; yet in the midſt of all their Afflictions they retained ſo dutiful Hearts to* Queen Mary *(imitating therein the Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Maſter) as that they could not endure to hear her ſo traduced into all Hatred and Obloquy, as ſhe was by the other ſort. Mr.* Knox *coming upon occaſion from* Geneva *to* Francfort, *was by theſe grave Men accus'd of Treaſon (as he himſelf confeſſeth) for Matters that he had publiſh'd in print againſt their Sovereign and the Emperor, and was fain thereupon to fly thence to* Geneva: ——So that by this and the former Letter of *Bradford, &c.* we may plainly ſee, what was the uniform *Belief* of the *Engliſh* Confeſſors in thoſe days of Perſecution, both thoſe who were in *England,* and thoſe who had fled thence for Righteouſneſs ſake, and for a good Conſcience.

Nor can I find any true Son of our Church, that aſſerted the contrary Doctrine, unleſs we muſt except Biſhop *Poinet* in his *ſhort Treatiſe of Politick power and true obedience,* in which it is Thetically laid down, *that it is lawful to depoſe an evil Governor, and to kill a Tyrant.* But I cannot believe the Book to be his. 1. Becauſe Printed (as I think) after his death *Anno* 1556. he dying at *Strasburg April* 11. of the ſame year, and the Preface to his Book ſeems to acknowledg it. 2. Becauſe (if I conjecture aright, by the character) Printed at *Geneva,* (where two years afterward) *Anno ſc.* 1558. both *Knox*'s *firſt blaſt of the Trumpet againſt the Regiment of Women,* and *Goodman*'s Book of *Obedience* firſt ſaw the light, and *Ant. Gilbie's admonition to* England *and* Scotland *to call them to repentance*; and thirdly, becauſe it wants that learning and acumen, that diſcover themſelves illuſtriouſly in his other Writings; and the Doctrine is contrary to that Biſhop's Practices, Dr. *Burnet* acquitting Biſhop *Poinet* of having any hand (as he was accuſed) in Sir *Thomas Wyatt*'s Rebellion; and how eaſie is it in a diſturbed Age, for Zealots to Father on a dead Biſhop ſuch Tenets, as he neither own'd nor defended? but if after all this, Biſhop *Poinet* be the genuine Author of that Treatiſe, it is but the example of one, and that no Old Man, (for he died before he was forty) maintaining a Paradox againſt all the other the venerable Martyrs, and Confeſſors of that time.

l. 2. hiſt. Reform. p. 273.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Among those pious Exiles, *Thomas Beacon* was one; who having been in the beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, committed to the charge of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with *Bradford* and *Vernon*, went afterwards into *Germany*, whence upon Queen *Elizabeth*'s advancement to the Crown, he with many other Exiles return'd into this Kingdom. I shall at present omit, what he in his *Anthology* out of the Works of *Lactantius* hath cited out of that Father, and give an account of what he declares to be his own Sentiments: In his *Governance of Virtue*, Sect. *against Rebellion and Disobedience*, he thus instructs us. *If the Devil, that old Enemy of Mankind, and troubler of all good orders, go about to put in thy head, that the Magistrates, and High Powers do not their duty in the right Government of a Common-wealth, but too much cruelly oppress their Subjects, and that therefore they may justly rise and rebel against them; and take upon thee of thy own private authority to redress things, that are amiss in the Common-wealth, take heed that thou by no means consentest to his most subtle and wicked temptation, whereby he goeth about to throw thee into everlasting damnation both of Body and Soul, besides the shameful death, that thou shalt have in this World, and the loss of all that ever thou hast; but content thy self with thy vocation, labour diligently and quietly for thy living to maintain peace, pray for the High Powers, think that cross to be laid upon thee for thy Deserts, amend thy life, humbly lament thy cause to God, who will not leave thee succorless, and defend thy self against Satan, and all his crafty suggestions with these Scriptures following, — after which he cites very many places of the Holy Writ to confirm what he had said, both Precepts and Examples, out of the Old and New Testament.*

Fox. tom. 2. p. 1281.

Tom 1. oper. f. 263. *Lond.* 1564.

f. 264.

**Did not Christ teach Obedience toward the Higher Powers, did he not pay Tribute,* &c? *Did not the Apostles of Christ in like manner, both teach and do?* ——— *neither lack we in the Holy Scriptures Histories, which do manifestly declare what a great Sin Disobedience is, and how grievously God hath punish'd it,* —— *the Histories of* Dathan, *and* Abiron, Zimri, *and* Baasa, *&c. confirm this,* —— *it is good to follow the example of* David, *which shewed such honour and reverence unto King* Saul, *being both a Wicked Ruler, and also his mortal Enemy; that he would not once hurt him, nor yet suffer any other to do it, although he had sufficient opportunity, and occasion at divers times to have slain him if he had been minded;* The Lord forbid, *said he,* that I should lay

* Catech. p. 343.

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my hand on him; *again*, kill him not, for who, *saith he*, shall lay
2. Reg. 1. hands on the Lord's Anointed, and not be guilty? as the Lord liveth, he dieth not, except the Lord smite him, *&c.* —— and this Doctrine he confirms by many other examples, both under the Law
Id. Tom. and the Gospel, and closes all with the example of the *Thebæan Legion*; so vigorously did our Forefathers thunder with it. *Is the*
1. f. 437. Obj. *Magistrate appointed of God an Officer, or is he rather a Tyrant Usurping Power and Authority over other Persons against all Right and Law? Ans. He is ordained of God to be a Ruler over his People, and no Man hath justly Rule and Authority in any Common-wealth, which is not ordained of God. Obj. But what if the Magistrates be evil, wicked, ungodly, tyrants, haters of the truth, oppressors of the poor,* &c. *are they also appointed of God?* Ans. *In* Job *it is thus written,* for the sins of the People doth God make an Hypocrite to Reign over them; *and God himself says by the Prophet,* I shall give them Children to be their Princes, and Babes shall have Rule over them; *the People also shall be pilled and polled,* &c. —— *Our Saviour Christ confest, that the Authority which* Pilate *had, although a wicked and ungodly Person, was from God, and he willingly suffer'd death under that Tyrant; neither do we read, that the Apostles at any time did reject, and cast away the Regiment of the Heathen Rulers, as a thing unlawful, but they rather exhorted the Subjects to obey them, so far as they commanded nothing contrary to God's word, to honour them, to pray for them, to give them tribute,* &c. —— *Thus we see, that not only Godly, but also ungodly Princes; not only righteous, but also unrighteous and wicked Rulers are given us of God: the one, I mean the good, for the favour which God beareth towards us; the other, I mean the evil for the anger and displeasure, that he hath towards us, when he sees us disobedient to his Laws and Or-*
† f. 504. *dinances.* ——† *Subjects from the very heart must love, and reverence the civil Magistrates, as the Ministers and Vicars of God.* —— *and if it be their duty to love and reverence, and honour the Higher Powers with a true and inward affection of the heart, then may they not hate them, and*
*f. 505. *unworthily speak of them.* —— 2. * *Their next duty is to pray for them, that God may be with them, assist them, and defend them,* &c. —— 3. *They must humbly obey them, and that not for fear of punishment, but for conscience sake; for as God hath commanded the Magistrate to rule, so he hath commanded to obey; this commandment of God may by no means be disobey'd; for to disobey the Magistrate is none other thing, than to disobey God, whose Minister the Magistrate is, and whose Office he executeth.* And having proved this by several places of Holy Scripture, he subjoins: *If this Obedience were throughly grafted in the hearts of Subjects,*

jects, all murmurings, tumults, commotions, seditions, insurrections, &c. should soon cease in the Common-wealth. —— *they should soon cease, for they should never be attempted; but whosoever through the motion of the Devil, enterprise such things against the Magistrates, they always come to a miserable end; so far is it off, that they have good success in their wicked and damnable attempts, as Histories of all Ages do evidently declare, &c.* ———— 4. *The Office of Subjects is willingly, and without grudging to bear such burdens, and pay such charges, as the Magistrates shall reasonably require of them, &c. but* Qu. *But may the Magistrate take away the Subject's goods at his pleasure?* Answ. *Nothing less, for there is a propriety of goods and possessions, as well in the Subject, as in the Magistrate; so that if the Magistrate do unjustly take away his Subjects goods, he is a Tyrant, and shall not escape the terrible indignation, and fierce Plagues of God, as we may see in the History of King* Ahab, *and* Naboth *the* Jesreelite, *&c.* ——— 5. *and finally, it's requir'd of Subjects, that they do not blaze nor publish abroad, but rather conceal and hide the faults, oversights, and negligences of the Magistrates, &c.* This was the Doctrine, which the Catechists of those days taught the People. f. 506.

And as Men were taught to believe in those days, so were they also taught to pray. 'As it is thy Godly appointment, O Lord God, 'that some should bear rule in this World to see thy Glory set forth, 'and the common peace kept; so it is thy pleasure again, that some 'should be Subjects and inferiors to others in their vocation, altho 'before thee there is no respect of Persons, and forasmuch as it 'is thy good will to appoint me in the number of Subjects, I beseech 'thee to give me a faithful, and an obedient heart unto the High 'Powers, that there may be found in me no disobedience, no un-'faithfulness, no treason, no falshood, no dissimulation, no insur-'rection, no commotion, no conspiracy, nor any kind of Rebel-'lion in word, or in deed against the Civil Magistrates; but all 'faithfulness, obedience, quietness, subjection, humility; and what-'soever else becomes a Subject, that I living here in all lowliness of 'mind, may at the last day through thy favour be lifted up unto 'everlasting Glory, where thou with the Father, and the Holy Ghost 'livest, and reignest very God for ever. *Amen.* ‖Id. tom. 2. op. f. 211. in the po-mander of Prayer.

The same Author in his Treatise, called *the Glorious Triumph of God's most Blessed Word*, introduceth the Holy Scriptures thus vindicating themselves. 'Now as touching that mine adversaries say, 'that I and my Preachers teach disobedience unto the High Powers, 'and encourage their Subjects rather to make Insurrection against Tom. 3. f. 499, 500.

'them, than they ſhould loſe any thing at all of their ſenſual plea-
'ſures; I know not, if mine Enemies in any point have utter'd their
'malicioufneſs againſt us, than in this one thing; that ye may know,
'how they ſhame nothing at all to lie, hear, I pray you, the ſum of
'our Doctrine concerning this matter; *Let every Soul be obedient to*
Rom. 13. *1 Pet. 2.* *'the Powers, that bear-rule*, &c. again, *be ye obedient to every humane*
'creature, &c. —— here have I given you a taſt of Doctrine con-
'cerning the duty of Subjects unto the High Powers; what diſobe-
'dience do ye perceive by theſe words, that we teach? do we move
'the Inferiors, and the baſe commonalty, or any other unto ſuch
'carnal liberty; that for defence of the ſame, they ſhould either
'ſhew diſobedience, or make Inſurrection againſt the head Rulers,
'as our adverſaries falſly report of us? —— who brought the Higher
'Powers again unto the true Authority, which God from the be-
'ginning gave them, but I, and my Miniſters? contrariwiſe, who
'uſurp'd this Power, and brought the Magiſtrates in Subjection, but
'theſe Enemies of God's Word? who goeth about to maintain it
'ſtill, but they only? —— I alone, and my Miniſters have ſet the
'Princes again in their Authority, and valiantly delivered them from
'the Tyranny of the Papiſts, as ye may perceive not only in our
'Sermons, but alſo in our Writings.

CHAP. IV.

The Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience *in the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth.

SECT. I.

THE *Jews* ſay, that before one Prophetick light was by death extinguiſh'd, another was ſet up to illuminate a degenerate World; and thus did God in his mercy order it in our Church; tho many eminent Confeſſors commenc'd Martyr's under Queen *Mary*, yet the divine goodneſs did not leave it ſelf, and the truth without Witneſſes, who for a while *ſung the Songs of Sion in a ſtrange Land*, but upon the advancement of Queen *Elizabeth* to the Throne

of

of theſe Nations, they return'd to vindicate *that faith, which was once deliver'd to the Saints*, and for which they *had earneſtly contended, being ready to reſiſt unto blood*; and becauſe the Churches moſt eminent, and moſt envied Advocate, was Biſhop *Jewel*, I ſhall begin the Hiſtory of this Reign, with an account of his Sentiments. When I have recited a Paſſage or two out of the *Homily* againſt *Rebellion*, which are omitted in the firſt part of this Hiſtory. ——

'The firſt Author of Rebellion, the root of all vices, and the Mo- p. 4th.
'ther of all miſchief was *Lucifer*, firſt God's moſt excellent crea-
'ture, and moſt bounden Subject, who by rebelling againſt the Ma-
'jeſty of God, of the brighteſt and moſt Glorious Angel, became
'the blackeſt and moſt foul Fiend and Devil, and from the heighth
'of Heaven is fallen into the Pit, and bottom of Hell; —— tho
'not only great multitudes of the rude and raſcal *Commons*, but
'ſometimes alſo Men of great *Wit*, *Nobility*, and *Authority*; have
'moved Rebellion againſt their lawful Princes; tho they ſhould
'pretend ſundry cauſes, as the *redreſs* of the *Common-wealth*, or *Re-*
'*formation* of Religion, tho they have made a great ſhow of Holy
'meaning, by beginning their Rebellion with the counterfeit Ser-
'vice of God, and by diſplaying and bearing about divers Enſigns
'and Banners; which are acceptable unto the rude ignorant com-
'mon People (great multitudes of whom by ſuch falſe pretences,
'and ſhows they do deceive and draw unto them) yet were the mul-
'titudes of the *Rebels* never ſo huge and great, the *Captains* never ſo
'noble, politick, and witty, the *pretences* feigned to be never ſo
'good and holy, yet the ſpeedy overthrow of all *Rebels*, of what
'number, ſtate, or condition ſoever they were, or what colour or
'cauſe ſoever they pretended, is, and ever hath been ſuch, that God
'doth thereby ſhew, that he alloweth neither the *dignity* of any
'Perſon, nor the *multitude* of any People, nor the *weight* of any
'cauſe, as ſufficient, for which Subjects may move *Rebellion* againſt
'their Princes: —— and how ſeverely the ſame *Homilies* cenſure, p. 6.
'and condemn the *Barons*, who broke their Oath of Fidelity to
'their natural Lord King *John*, is acknowledged by all Men.

Biſhop *Jewel* in his juſtly admired *Apology* taking notice, that a-
mong many other falſe accuſations then laid to the Charge of the p. 34. &c. edit. *Lond* 1581.
Church, this was one, 'that its members were turbulent, ſnatching
'Scepters out of the Hands of Princes, Arming their Subjects againſt
'them, reſcinding their Laws, and changing Monarchies into po-
'pular Government; whereby the minds of Princes were exaſpe-
'rated to believe, that every Proteſtant in their Juriſdiction was their

'Enemy and a Rebel; ſubjoins, that it would have been moſt trou-
'bleſom to thoſe good Men, to be ſo odiouſly accuſed of ſo grievous
'a crime as Treaſon, had they not known, that Chriſt himſelf, and
'his Apoſtles, and an infinite number of pious Chriſtians had been
'accuſed of the ſame crime; for tho Chriſt had taught the World,
'*to render to Cæſar, the things that are Cæſars*, yet he was accus'd of
'Sedition, and the deſire of reigning, and it was loudly cried at the
'Tribunal, *If thou let this man go, thou art no friend to Cæſar*; and
'tho the Apoſtles conſtantly taught Men *to obey Magiſtrates, that*
'*every Soul ought to be Subject to the higher powers, and that not only*
'*for wrath, but for conſcience ſake*, yet they were ſaid to ſtir up the
'People, and to invite the multitude to Rebellion. So did *Haman*
'accuſe the *Jews*, *Ahab* accuſe *Elias*, and *Amaſias* the Prieſt accuſe
'the honeſt Prophet *Amos*; in ſhort, *Tertullian* ſays all the Chriſtians
'of his time were ſo accuſed. —— as alſo did the ancient Enemies
'of Chriſtianity, *Symmachus*, *Celſus*, *Julian*, *Porphyry* accuſe the
'Chriſtians of their Ages; —— ſo that the charge is not new,
'nor can it ſeem ſtrange, —— tho our very Enemies cannot deny,
'that in all our diſcourſes and writings, we diligently admoniſh the
'People of their duty, to be obedient to Princes and Magiſtrates, tho
p. 84, &c. 'they are wicked, *&c.* —— If we are Traytors, who honour our
'Princes, who pay them deference and obedience in all things, as
'much as is lawful for us to do by the Word of God, who pray for
'them, *&c.* what are they, who have not only done all that we
'ſpeak of, but alſo have approved of ſuch proceedings? ——
'We neither throw off the Yoke, nor diſturb Kingdoms, we nei-
☞ 'ther ſet up Kings, nor dethrone them, nor transfer their Empires,
'nor give them Poyſon, nor make them to kiſs our Feet, nor tread
'on their Necks. This rather is our Profeſſion, this is our Doctrine,
'that every Soul, whoſoever it be, whether a Monk, or Evangeliſt,
'or Prophet, or Apoſtle, ought to be ſubject to Kings and Magi-
'ſtrates. —— we teach publickly, that obedience ought to be paid
'to Princes, as to Men ſent by God; and that whoſoever reſiſteth
'them, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God. Theſe are our *Inſtitutions*,
'theſe Doctrins are illuſtrious in our Books, in our Sermons, and in
'the manners, and modeſty of our People.

The ſame admirable Prelate in his *Epiſtle Dedicatory* to *Queen Eli-*
zabeth, before his *defence of the Apology* is ſtill of the ſame mind;
‖ fol. 318. blaming his Adverſary *Harding* for debaſing the Majeſty of Kings.
6. ‖ Mr. *Harding* concerning the Majeſty and Right of Kings tells us;
'*they have their firſt authority by the poſitive Law of Nations, and can*

'*have*

'*have no more power, than the People hath, of whom they take their Temporal Juriſdiction*; as if he would ſay, Emperors and Kings have 'none other Right of Government, than it hath pleaſed their Subjects by compoſition to allow unto them; thus he ſays, and ſays it 'boldly, as if God himſelf had never ſaid, *per me Reges regnant, by me 'and mine authority Kings bear rule over their Subjects*; or as if Chriſt 'our Saviour had never ſaid unto *Pilate* the Lord Lieutenant, *thou 'ſhouldſt have no power over me, were it not given thee from above*; or 'as if St. *Paul* had not ſaid, *there is no power but only from God*, —— 'they alſo hold, that the Pope is the Head, and Kings and Emperors 'the Feet. —— If this Doctrine may once take root, and be freely received amongſt the Subjects, it ſhall be hard for any Prince to 'hold his Right.

And in his *Defence* he declareth himſelf to be of the ſame mind. part. 1. p. 'Mr. *Harding* knoweth right well we never Armed the People, nor 15. 'taught them to rebel for Religion againſt the Prince; if any thing 'have at any time happen'd otherwiſe, it was either ſome wilful 'rage, or ſome fatal fury, it was not our counſel, it was not our 'Doctrine; we teach the People, as St. *Paul* doth, *To be ſubject to 'the higher powers*, not only for fear, but alſo for conſcience; we 'teach them, that *whoſo ſtriketh with the ſword*, (by private autho-'rity) *ſhall periſh with the ſword*; if the Prince happen to be wicked, 'or cruel, or burthenous, we teach them to ſay with St. *Ambroſe*, '*Arma noſtra ſunt preces, & lacrymæ, tears, and prayers be our wea-'pons*; and when ‖*Harding* himſelf had ſaid, that he condemn'd all ‖ p. 16. 'ſuch attempts, that any Subject or Subjects whatſoever of their own 'private authority, ſhould take Arms againſt their Prince for mat-'ters of Religion. —— why, (replies *Jewel*) except you only the 'caſe of Religion? Is it lawful by your Grant for the Subject in any 'other caſe, either of Life, or of Government, to Arm himſelf againſt 'his Prince? and would you thus perſwade the People? Is this your 'Religion? Is this your Doctrine?

Anno 1565. *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of St. *Pauls*, ſet forth his *reproof of Mr.* Dorman's *proof*; and in it vindicates the Church of *England* from the ſcandalous imputation, that it taught Men to be pr. at *Lond.* 4to. Rebels. Corah, Dathan, *and* Abyron, *rebelled againſt* Moſes *and* p. 94, 95. Aaron, *who were ſpecially by God appointed to be their Governors and his Miniſters*; *but what appertaineth that to us, who do obey our natural Prince appointed by God to be our Governor, and all, as well Civil Magiſtrates, as Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters of God under our Prince? And therefore do we, as we muſt needs, renounce the authority of that foreign*

Uſurper

Uſurper of Rome, —— *it is you Papiſts, that are the Succeſſors of the Rebels* Corah, &c. *who leaving the Obedience due to your own natural Princes, for the ſerving of a Foreign falſe Uſurper of* Rome, *do rebel, not only againſt* Moſes, *that is to ſay, your Governor by God appointed, but againſt God himſelf alſo*; —— *we acknowledg, that as* Moſes *and* Aaron *were Gods Miniſters by him appointed to govern his peculiar People* Iſræl; *ſo hath God likewiſe appointed to every ſeveral Country their* Moſes *and* Aaron, *their Princes and Paſtors or Biſhops*; *which ought likewiſe to be obeyed, as* Moſes *and* Aaron *were to be obey'd of the* Iſraelites; *and that thoſe, who do diſobey them, do ſin by Rebellion, as did* Corah, &c. —— *as we are moſt far from Rebelling againſt our natural Sovereign, and other of God's Miniſters appointed to govern us, and therefore no partakers of* Corah, *and his fellows Rebellion*; *ſo truſt we in God to be moſt far from their moſt horrible deſtruction, and we give warning to Mr.* Dorman, &c. *who for maintenance of a Forein* Pharaoh *againſt their conſcience (as is to be feared) do diſobey their own natural Prince, and that upon a pretence of holineſs and ſpirituality, and are therein moſt like to* Corah, &c. *(rebelling againſt their own ſpecial Governors by God appointed, as they did) that they make ſpeed by unfeigned repentance to mollifie God's moſt juſt wrath, that they follow not* Corah, &c. *in horrible damnation, as they have followed them in damnable Rebellion.*

p. 96.

Anno 1569. an exhortation *to the Queens Majeſties poor deceived Subjects of the North, drawn into Rebellion by the Earls of* Northumberland, *and* Weſtmorland was printed *by allowance*, and in it they are thus accoſted. *Chriſtians I cannot term you, that have defac'd the Communion of Chriſtians, and in deſtroying the Book of Chriſt's moſt Holy Teſtament, renounced your parts by his Teſtament bequeath'd unto you*; —— *their pretences were, the foul diſorder of the Realm, much impoveriſh'd, far indebted, the defrauding of due execution of Juſtice, that no Subject can have his Right by Law, but falſly, whereas they are better taught, far doth the proportion of duty of Subjects to the Prince, exceed the duty of Servants to Maſters, or Children to Parents, yea, or of Wives to their Husbands*; *the very neareſt conjoyning in humane fellowſhip, even ſo far as a Realm exceeds a private Family*; *but if one of your own Servants, Children, or Wives, ſhould do that without your will, nay againſt your will and expreſs commandment, that your Captains and you have attempted without, and againſt the Queens Highneſs pleaſure, would you account them good Servants, good Children, or good Wives?* —— *if they ſhall put on armour and weapon, and become terrible, or threaten force to the Maſter, Father, Husband, or the reſt of the Family, if the caſe were*

were your own, you would more miſlike it. ——— *The Prince is the Huſband of the Common wealth married to the Realm, and the ſame by ceremony of a ring;* ——— *ſhall you reſiſt her authority, and refuſe her bleſſing, and ſay you be her good children? Shall your Captains forſake her Service, and ſay they are good Servants?* ——— *note withal, how likely they are to profeſs a true Religion, that hold this Principle,* to keep no faith, *uſe no loyalty, regard no oaths and promiſes made with atteſtation of God, and avowing themſelves to renouncing of Heaven, and to eternal damnation;* ——— *they regard no Religion, that go ſo irreligiouſly to work, all is but ſhow and hypocriſie.* —— *Reed, I beſeech you, the excellent Treatiſe of Sir* John Cheek *Knight of the* hurt of Sedition; *there ſee, as in a glaſs, the deformity of your fault,* &c. —— *an unnatural hope it is, and a beaſtly to joyn with any ſtrangers to the ſpoil of their own Country; but ſuch is the nature of that falſe Religion, to regard no Country, faith, nature, or common honeſty.*

SECT. II.

Antonius Corranus of *Sevil,* a Learned *Spaniard* (an excellent Perſon, as Dr. *Patrick* with reaſon calls him) ſpent much of his time in *England*; and, as appears by his Writings, very well underſtood our Doctrine; after he left his Country for the ſake of a good Conſcience, he Preach'd ten years in *France* (as he did alſo for ſome time in *Flanders*) ſtill reſerving himſelf (when God ſhould give him an opportunity) to Preach to his own Countrymen, which he afterwards did for two years in *London,* till that Congregation of Exil'd *Spaniards* was diſſolv'd; after which an 1571. he was choſen by the *Templers* to read his Lectures among them (and their choice was confirm'd by *Edwin* Lord Biſhop of *London.*) In the firſt year of his Miniſtry, he expounded the Epiſtle to the *Romans,* and out of that larger Commentary, he Printed *an.* 1574. a *Theological Dialogue* (between St. *Paul,* and one of his *Roman* auditors) for this, among other reaſons, that it might witneſs the purity of his Doctrine, and how much he abhorr'd the Opinions of the Sectaries, that then diſturb'd the Church.

In this Dialogue, having ſhewn from the cloſe of the 12th Chap. that we ought to overcome our Enemies perverſneſs, and malign temper by our goodneſs and patience, he continues to Paraphraſe the 13th Chapter thus,

Rom. *I could wiſh from my Soul, that this Doctrine ſo uſeful, and neceſſary to our quiet were embrac'd by all Men; but* (*O horrid wickedneſs!*)

neſs!) many of our Church begin not only to revenge themſelves on their Perſecutors, but dare take Arms, and reſiſt the Magiſtrates and Judges, that hinder the Preaching of the Goſpel.

Paul, *They who think, that the ſufferings of Chriſtians hinder the propagation of the Goſpel, are extreamly deceived, for the blood of the Martyrs waters the Garden of the Church; — but do you, who love Religion mind this Precept, that every one that hath given up his name to Chriſt,* be ſubject to the higher Powers; *for why are they placed in a ſuperior Station, but that their inferiors may be ſubject unto them?*

Rom. *But what if Princes, either Hereditary or Elective, be evil or cruel, muſt we obey them?*

Paul, *What ſhould hinder? for we are not to conſider our Rulers as private Men, but to reverence them as conſtituted by God,* for there is no power, but what is of God: —— *if they, inclined by the fear of God, promote piety, their example does great good; but if they do otherwiſe, we ought to conſider, the Vengeance of God, who for the Sins of a Nation ſets over them Hypocrites and Diſſemblers: But even this Diſpenſation of God brings with it advantage to the godly.*

'*Rom.* Then you, S. *Paul,* are of that opinion, that it is not 'lawful to take Arms againſt Princes and Magiſtrates, tho they 'hinder the Goſpel, and would Murther and deſtroy us?

'*Paul,* That is my opinion; and this I add, as a concluſion, '*Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and they* 'that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation, and that juſtly; for 'ſince God is the Author of this Order, they who rebel againſt the 'Magiſtrates, wage War againſt God himſelf, and ſhall bring upon 'themſelves great Calamities.

'*Rom.* O the deplorable ſtate of this Age! In which we ſee ſo 'many civil Wars, popular Seditions, Treaſons, cruel Murthers of 'Princes, and more than barbarous Maſſacres perpetrated on Sub-'jects.

'*Paul,* All theſe things probably fall out for the Sins both of the 'People and Rulers: The People forgetting their Duty, deſpiſe 'the Authority of the Prince; and the King on the contrary 'forgets his Obligations, and rages like a cruel Tyrant.—*Wouldeſt* 'thou therefore (and when I ſpeak to you, I ſpeak to all Men) 'not dread the Power, *do that which is good,* and thou ſhalt have 'praiſe, and a reward from it; ſo far oughteſt thou to be from 'oppoſing it.

'*Rom.* A moſt excellent method of bearing this Yoak, which 'would otherwiſe be inſupportable;—but men are wiſe too late:

'Would

'Would to God this Doctrine were as much engraven on Mens 'Hearts, as it finds a place on their Tongues; for by this means 'it would soon come to pass, that the Minds of Christians would 'enjoy much inward Peace, and the Commonweal much Ad-'vantage.

'*Paul*, Whereſoever you are, inculcate this Sentence in ſeaſon, 'out of ſeaſon, beſeech, reprove, and teach, that the Magiſtrate 'is God's choſen Miniſter, appointed and preferr'd by him to the 'Office of governing, *for the puniſhment of them that do evil, and* 'for the comfort of them that do well: If therefore thou do evil, 'fear, *for he bears not the Sword in vain*; for God, who hath ad-'vanc'd thoſe Powers, hath arm'd them with the Sword of Juſtice.— 'That I may ſum up all in a few words, *we ought to be ſubject to* 'the Powers, not only for wrath but for Conſcience ſake; for it is the 'Duty of a Chriſtian to be ſubject to his Superiors.

'*Rom.* You therefore believe, that we muſt obey Magiſtrates, 'not only for fear of Puniſhment, but for greater Reaſons; be-'cauſe, tho the Magiſtrate have no power over Conſcience, yet, 'becauſe he is the Miniſter of God, no one with a good Con-'ſcience can reſiſt him.

'*Paul*, That is my Opinion; and for this Reaſon, to ſhew the 'inward Obedience of your Mind, do you pay Tribute, *&c.* So 'that learned and pious Paraphraſt in oppoſition to the many falſe 'Gloſſes put upon the Words of the holy Apoſtle.

John Young, Doctor of Divinity, preach'd before the Queen, the Second of *March*, 1575. on *Pſal.* 131. *Lord, I am not high minded*, and he tells us, the occaſion of writing the Pſalm was, *That there were certain Paraſites and Flatterers attending upon King* Saul; *who, maligning* David, *becauſe that by Almighty God's ſpecial appointment he was anointed King over* Iſrael, *and ſeeking to bring him into diſcredit, and into hatred with his Prince, did inſinuate, that he did ſecretly practiſe the Depoſing him from the Kingdom, and the Advanceing of himſelf ambitiouſly to the ſame: Therefore the Prophet declares their Suggeſtions to be moſt falſe and ſlanderous, and himſelf to be innocent from that great Offence.*——*S.* Auſtin *ſaith, He that will go about to ſatiſie and fulfil (as all other) ſo that ambitious and arrogant deſire, ſhall find it a Toyl of all Toyls, ſuch a Labor, as* Samſon *or* Hercules, *never atchiev'd.*——*This deſire of Honor, Rule, Principality, worldly Glory, and Renown, is in the Heart of Man (if it be once poſſeſſed therewithal) a Worm that dyeth not*, &c.——*Now* David, *when he ſaith,* He did not exerciſe himſelf in ſuch great matters, *&c.*

his meaning was, that he did never ſeek (as he was moſt falſly and unjuſtly charged by ſome) to advance himſelf ambitiouſly to the Kingdom, King Saul, *his Maſter, being alive; becauſe he knew well enough, that it was too great for him to wield, and too high alſo for him to aſpire unto. ——Such was the Humility of this excellent Man, the Friend of God, to the utter Condemnation and Confuſion of all thoſe, whoſe whole ſtudy and endeavour evermore hath been, and is at this day, to undermine thoſe which be in authority, to invade and occupy other mens Kingdoms, to wring the Scepter and Sword out of Princes hands. — This is a Vice never enough to be deteſted, conſidering the manifold and great Miſchiefs which have come thereby to Heaven, to Earth, to Angels, to Men, to all Kingdoms and Commonwealths, to the whole World. ——This ambitious Man is a Thief, is a Homicide, if it lye in his power, he is a Regicide, he is the Parricide of his Countrey. ——I will only put you in mind of one only Leſſon, which we are taught by this Verſe, which is this, that it is much better for us* ſperare, quàm aſpirare, *to truſt in Almighty God, than to aſpire; for in aſpiring there be many Inconveniences,—but the anchor-hold of Hope is firm and ſure,* &c.

Fidelis ſervi ſubdito infidele reſponſio. Lond. 1573.

Bartholomew Clerk, *anno* 1573. writing againſt that virulent, tho learned Rebel *Saunders*, avers, *That the Majeſty of Princes is by no means to be violated; if they are good, we are to thank God, who hath bleſs'd his People with ſo divine a Benefit; but if they are evil, we are to ſubmit our Necks to their Tyranny, or to fly to another City; we muſt at no time make reſiſtance by Force and Arms, by Tumult and Slaughter: For this we ought to believe, that evil Kings are appointed by God for the puniſhment of our Sins, and are ſent into the World as God's Scourges.*

SECT. III.

Anno 1590. Dr. *Babington* printed his *Queſtions and Anſwers upon the Commandments* (he being the Year after made B. of *Landaffe*, and ſucceſſively of *Exon* and *Worceſter*) and on the Fifth *Commandment* he ſays, 'That by Parents are meant ſuch, as are ſo by
p. 202. 'Dignity and Office; ſuch as are Magiſtrates over the People,
p. 203. 'Maſters over their Servants, *&c.* —Magiſtrates are only to be
p. 208. 'obey'd in the Lord; contrary to Piety and Charity muſt neither 'they command nor we do.——Many Servants take their Maſters 'Unkindneſs for an excuſe of their Diſobedience or Infidelity in 'their Services, which indeed muſt not be ſo, ſaith S. *Peter*, but 'be they never ſo froward, yet we muſt do all Duty, if we be 'Servants,

'Servants, and even joy heartily in that Croſs, that notwithſtanding our faithful and painful Duty, we ſuffer;——for we 'ſerve not them, but God in them. And whereas ſome may be apt to limit this Doctrine to Servants, and to exempt Subjects, who are by parity of reaſon obliged; the ſame Biſhop in his Notes on *Exodus* 18. ſays, 'The Duty of Subjects toward their Governours is 1. To think moſt reverently of their Places, as an Authority appointed of God for our good; and, not as ſome Men 'do, outwardly to obey them, and inwardly to think them but neceſſary Evils: For S. *Peter*'s words teach more, when he ſaith, '*Honor the King*; and *Solomon*, when he biddeth, *Fear God and the* '*King*; for in the word Honor, *Peter* includeth *ſinceram & candidam* '*exiſtimationem*, a ſincere and unfeigned reverence of them; and '*Solomon*, joyning the King with God, ſheweth a holy and reverent regard of him to be due to him from men ſubject to him: 'that alſo in S. *Paul* hath great efficacy in it, *not for fear, but for Conſcience ſake*; as if he ſhould ſay, even what duty is done, or left 'undone to him, is done or left undone to God himſelf, from 'whom their Authority and Power is; whoſoever therefore the 'perſon is, the calling is of God.——Agian, after this inward reverend Conceit muſt follow outward Obedience to their Laws, 'in paying Tribute, *&c. Let every Soul be ſubject to the high Powers*, 'ſaith the Apoſtle, *becauſe, he that reſiſteth, reſiſteth to his own damnation.* The Magiſtrate may ſometime be weak, but God 'will ever be ſtrong to puniſh any Contempt of his Ordinance: '*In no caſe* therefore may we intrude our ſelves into their Offices, 'and meddle with publick matters, without a calling: For this is 'not to obey them, but to rule with them; what is amiſs, to them 'muſt be ſignified, and their help expected, unleſs they appoint 'us; and then we are not private Perſons any more, but publick 'for ſuch buſineſs;——be they never ſo evil, yet their place is 'of God, *by whom only Kings do rule*, either to our good in his 'Mercy, or to our puniſhment in his Juſtice; *Tyrants are ſuffer'd* '*ſometimes to rule for the puniſhment of the evil, and the reward of* '*the good*, ſaith S. *Ambroſe*; but how, will you think, for the reward 'of the good? The ſame *Ambroſe* notably ſaith for anſwer,; *Never* '*did the Gentiles more for the Church, than when they commanded the* '*Chriſtians to be beaten, proſcribed, and killed, for then did Religion* '*make that a Reward, an Honor, and a Crown, which infidelity reputed a Puniſhment.* S. *Auſtin* ſaith, *There is no Power but of God*; 'and therefore our Saviour told *Pilate, He could have no Power at*

p. 27 ¾. ed. Lond. fol. 1637.

Dan. 2. 23. 37.

l. 2. de Cain & Abel, c. 4

'*all over him, except it were given him from the Father*; but God 'doth ſuffer the Hypocrite to rule for the Sin of the People, and 'therefore that Sin muſt be taken away, that the Plague of having 'a Tyrant Ruler may ceaſe.——What manner of King was *Ne-* 'buchadnezzar, &c. if a King ſhall do, as it is ſaid, 1 *Sam.* 8. 11. *&c.* 'he is God's Inſtrument thus to chaſten us; and tho things do not 'ſhew what he ought to do, yet they ſhew, what Subjects ought 'to ſuffer without Diſloyalty, if they be done: Read *Jerem.* 29. 7. 'God forbid, ſaith *David, that I ſhould lay my hand on the Lord's* 'Anointed; and yet *Saul* ſought his Life. *Who ſhall lay his hand* 'on the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltleſs? &c. The Wife is not 'freed from her Husband when he is ill, nor the Child from his 'Father, no more are Subjects from their Prince: But in ſuch caſes 'God the only Helper is to be thought of, and prayed unto, who 'can give a *Moſes* for a *Pharoah*, an *Othniel* for a *Cuſhan*, who can 'bring down the Pride of *Tyrus* by the *Egyptians*, and then of the 'Egyptians by the *Aſſyrians*, the *Aſſyrians* again by the *Chaldeans*, by 'the *Medes*, and *Perſions*, *&c.* yet carrying a gracious Ear, and Eye 'to Prayer proceeding from a penitent Heart, *&c.*——Rebellion 'is a bad courſe to get Liberty, where Subjection is due: For 'Rebellion God never loved, never proſpered, but ever plagued; 'and the fearful deſtruction of *Corah*, and his Company, *Abſalom* 'and his Company, *&c.*——ſay as much. Papiſts charge us that 'we are no good Friends to Princes and Rulers, and it is no News 'to hear it of them; *Elias* had ſuch meaſure meaſured unto him. '*Micheas*,——all of them faithful to Princes, ever were ſo accuſed. 'We ſay the Doctrine of *Rome* is no Friend to Princes (and here 'he inſtances in the treaſonable Books and rebellious Inſurrections 'of the Papiſts, and adds) ſhew the Princes the Goſpel hath 'depoſed; ſhew the Princes, that Popery hath not wronged: It 'is our Doctrine that we firmly hold, and they fully defie, *That* 'he that taketh the Sword, ſhall periſh with the Sword; *i. e.* he that 'taketh it without the bounds of a calling, warranting him (and 'that calling he afterward ſays, is only the Prince's Order) as all 'Rebels ever do, that he which reſiſteth the Superior Powers, *re-* 'ſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and to his own *Damnation*; that we 'ought to obey and be ſubject, *not for Fear*, but *for Conſcience ſake*; 'that the Weapons of Subjects be but *Prayers* and *Tears*, *&c.* See 'then, whether Popery, or God's holy Goſpel, which we hold, 'ſtand better with the ſafety of Princes, and flouriſhing Eſtates of 'Kingdoms, *&c.*

Id. Not. on *Gen.* 14. page 43, 44.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Among the Works of Dr. *Lawrence Humfreys*, which he publiſhed againſt the *Romaniſts*, his ſeven Sermons on 1 *Sam.* 26. 8, 9, *&c. To perſuade Obedience to Princes*, &c. are not the leaſt conſiderable. In which, having in the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* commended that Saying of S. *Ambroſe*, *Rogamus Auguſte, non pugnamus*; *We beſeech, O Emperor, we fight not:* and in the firſt Sermon mentioned the many Rebellions of the Papiſts, he ſays, 'Such a Catholick Faith muſt be maintain'd by 'ſuch Catholick Means, namely, by open Rebellions, privy Practices 'in a Catholick and Univerſal Manner, that is, by all unlawful 'Means, —— That when Scruples ariſe againſt ſuch traiterous En- 'terpriſes, then the Pope hath this Religion and Omnipotency, 'that he can diſpenſe with any Oath. —— In the ſecond Sermon he teacheth every one his Duty: 'It is lawful for a Magiſtrate to put to 'death a Malefactor —— otherwiſe no Spirit, no Reaſon, no Friend, 'no carnal Reſpect can authoriſe any Man of his own Head, or his 'private affection, to draw weapon againſt any man, much leſs a- 'gainſt a double and compound perſon, as the Prince eſtabliſhed by 'Law and publick Authority. —— If Chriſt found fault with his 'Servant (*Peter*) fighting in his own quarrel, hoſt much more will 'he be angry with them, that take weapon againſt his anointed 'Prince, his Lieutenant in the Earth? —— What do theſe Giants 'and Tyrants of the World think? Or what do they eſteem of the 'Blood of a Prince? Or what do they imagine of the Ordinance or 'Inſtitution of Princes? Are they Upſtarts by themſelves, *&c.*? No, 'it is only the Ordinance of our living God. —— By Office he re- 'preſenteth God, he is God by name, — *Saul* himſelf is named here 'the anointed of the Lord, ſo are all other Potentates, that are by 'their Vices evil Men, yet by Office the Ordinance of God: *By 'me rulers reign*; the Hypocrites rule not without him. —— And 'why are the bad as well as the good advanced? *Auſtin* gives two 'Reaſons hereof; It is not unjuſt, that wicked men receive power 'to hurt, both that the patience of the good may be tryed, and the 'wickedneſs of the evil puniſhed. —— And if they are ſet up by 'God, they cannot fall, but by God. —— What were the Ma- 'giſtrates in the time of *Peter* and *Paul*, but Heathen and Tyrants, 'as *Nero* and ſuch others, and yet *Paul* exhorts *every ſoul to be ſubject 'to the higher powers*: and *whoſoever reſiſteth*, &c. —— Even 'Nebuchadnezzar, a Tyrant and Infidel was to be prayed for. ——

Preached at *Oxford*, 1588.

P. 22, 23.

P. 24.

P. 32.

P. 34, &c.

P. 36, 37

Prov. 8. Job 34.

P. 43.

Chriſoſtome

Serm. 3. p. 56. 'Chryſoſtome amplifyeth the excellent Integrity and Faithfulneſs of 'David toward Saul the anointed, in that David did this in the Old Te- 'ſtament, where ſome revenge was in a ſort permitted, &c. But to kill 'him, or any the anointed of the Lord, is contrary to the Law of Na- 'ture, and all Laws.—Thoſe that are diſloyal, and Rebels, are not good P. 63. 'Chriſtians.——We of this Land do ſwear and proteſt in the name P. 78. 'of Chriſt, a fidelity to God, to the Prince, and to our Country; P. 105. 'this Oath muſt be kept. Many Laws have been made againſt 'Treaſon and Rebellion, yet the unbridled and cruel Subjects have 'always unkindly and unnaturally conſpired againſt their Prince, 'and againſt their own Country.——Our King *Ethelred* complains 'in an Oration in this ſort: *We are overcome of the* Danes, *not with 'Weapon, or force of Arms, but with Treaſon wrought by our own People.*

Reprinted *Anno* 1640, &c. *Anno* 1593, Doctor *Richard Bancroft* (afterward Biſhop of *London*, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) publiſhed his *Dangerous Poſitions, &c.* the whole Deſign of which Treatiſe is to expoſe, and 'condemn the Republican Principles, then newly broached in *England*, by the Lovers of the *Geneva* Platform. I have already (in the Reign of Queen *Mary*) given his Sentiments of the Proceedings of the *Engliſh* Exiles at *Francfort* againſt *Knox*, whoſe Principles were ſo infective, that they inflamed his own native Country, and threw it into a moſt unnatural Rebellion; of which their Miniſters were the prime cauſe, and ſhall add his ſenſe of thoſe ſeditious Doctrines and Practices. * Lib. 1. cap. 3. '* But becauſe ſome peradventure will labor to ex- 'cuſe theſe Proceedings, and to color the ſame with ſome pretence 'of zeal, and great deſire they had to be delivered from Popiſh Ido- 'latry and Superſtition; I have thought it convenient to let you un- 'derſtand how far they are from making any ſuch pretences in their 'own behalf, and with what new Divinity Poſitions Mr. *Knox* and ☞ 'Mr. *Buchanan* have amplified the *Geneva* Reſolution, (*viz. That 'if Princes refuſe to reform Religion, the Magiſtrates and People may 'lawfully do it by force of Arms*) to the Juſtification not only of their 'ſaid Attempts and Actions, but alſo many others of the like na- Ch. 4. 'ture.——And afterward he mentions their Poſitions, That *Princes 'for juſt cauſes may be depoſed —— That it is not Birthright only, nor 'Propinquity of Blood, that makes a King lawfully reign above a People 'profeſſing Jeſus Chriſt.—— If Princes be Tyrants againſt God and his 'Truth, their Subjects are freed from their Oaths of Obedience.—— The 'People are better than the King, and of greater Authority*, &c. Of all 'which, and many the like Propoſitions he averrs, that they tend to

'the

'the disturbance and utter overthrow of the freest and most abso-
'lute Monarchies that are, or can be in Christendom, and that
'they are contrary (he was sure) both to the Word of God, and to
'all the Laws and Customs of this Realm. ——— But I must transcribe the greatest part of the Book, should I cite all that is to my purpose in it, while I leave to the Reader's private Considera-
'tion that, and his other excellent Treatise called, *a Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline.* And if I mistake not, by his directions the Account of *Hacket's*, *Coppinger's* and *Arthington's* Treason was drawn up, and Printed in the Book called *Conspiracy for pretended Reformation*; the Design of which is expresly against the Doctrin of taking up, Arms against the Lord's anointed, especially on the Account of Religion.

SECT. V.

Anno 1594, Dr. *Richard Eedes*, Dean of *Worcester* Preached before the Queen on *Isai.*49.23. Wherein he says, 'That the Strength even
'of Heathen States was in their Religion, by the which they were
'persuaded, that their Princes were the Children of their Gods,
'and their Laws drawn from the Oracles of some Divine Power.
'They found by experience, how hard it was for men to be brought
'to obey men, unless they had the authority of more than men,
&c. And what doth more teach either *Obedience* or *Peace* than the
'Religion of Christ? ———Obedience is rightly called *Nervus*
'*Imperii*, the Sinew and Strength of a Kingdom, as well because
'it is grounded upon the Obedience of Christ, who, as *Bernard* no-
'teth, *Ne perderet Obedientiam, perdidit vitam*, did rather chuse to
'lose his life, than to leave his Obedience. As also because it re-
'quires in Christians Obedience without respect of persons *to all*
'(without difference of Degrees) *higher Powers*, Rom. 13. 2. With-
'out exception against their Qualities, *not only to them that are good*
'*and courteous, but to them also who are froward*, 1 Pet. 2. 18. And
'that in all things, *Tribute to whom tribute*, &c. and that not
'*with eye-service, as men-pleasers*, &c. and that not *because of wrath,*
'*but for conscience sake*, Rom. 13. 5. That if all the Laws and
'Policies of States and Kingdoms were gathered into one, they
'could not be so strong to work peace, and to persuade Obedience,
'as these few, but very forcible Rules of the Religion of Christ.—
'How much therefore is it to be lamented, that in so great Light
'there should be so little Fruit ——That whereas the Truth of Reli-
'gion is the Preserver of Government, and the Mother of Obe-
dience,

Printed with five other Sermons, *London*, 1604. p. 70, 72, 73, 74.

'dience, the name of Religion is made the Firebrand of Kingdoms, 'and the armor of diſobedience; and that not only to maintain the 'Tyranny of that Uſurping Power, who takes upon him to De-'poſe Kings; but alſo to bring in that Anarchy of factious Sub-'jects, who preſume to give Laws to their lawful Princes: Where-'in, beſides that it is true, which *Leo* wrote unto *Theodoſius*, *private* 'causes are handled with pretence of Piety, and every Man makes Reli-'gion, which ſhould be the Miſtreſs, the Handmaid of his affections; 'it is intolerable to ſee how far ſome buſie heads fetch the begin-
p.75. Vindic. contr. Tyran. Buchan. de jure regin.
'ning of Kingdoms, and ſo, as they pleaſe, the right of Kings, from 'the *pleaſure of the People* —— how contemptuouſly they term the 'titles of honour and reverence, the *ſoleciſms of the Court*; —— 'how ſeditiouſly they give wings to ambitious humors, to plead the 'right of a *Laconical Ephory* againſt Kings, but for themſelves; and 'to arm that beaſt of many heads the *multitude*, which ever goes, 'as *Seneca*, not *whither it ſhould, but whither the ſtream bears it*, a-'gainſt (that, which to want of judgment is ever moſt heavy) the 'preſent Government; Whereas the right rules of Religion, give 'no remedy to Subjects againſt the Higheſt Authority, but the ne-'ceſſity of either ſuffering or obeying; and therefore they, that 'open that gap, whether it be to the *Tyranny of ambitious Popes*, *or* 'to the *Anarchy of ſeditious Subjects*, howſoever they pretend the 'name of *Religion*, they ſhall ſooner prove themſelves to have no 'Religion, than that there is any defence for them in the *Religion* 'of *Chriſt*; which teacheth, as to be thankful to God for good 'Princes, ſo to be patient of thoſe, whom in anger, as the Prophet
Hoſ. 13. 11.
'*Hoſea* ſpeaks, he ſetteth over us for the puniſhment of our ſins, 'and againſt whom the firſt Profeſſors of our faith had no weapons,
p. 8.
'but *prayers and tears*; ——— the ſame Author in his firſt Ser-'mon before King *James* ſaith, that *promotion comes neither from the* 'East, *nor from the Weſt, nor from the South*, but from God. *Pſ.* 75. '6. *that their power is of God*, Rom. 13. 1. *and their judgments God's* 'judgments. Deut. 1. 17. and that therefore *they, who reſiſt them*, not 'only by a conſequence *reſiſt the ordinance of God*, Rom. 13. 2. but 'God in them, as he told *Samuel, they have not rejected thee, but me.* '1 Sam. 8. 7.

The Reverend Biſhop *Moreton* begun very early to aſſert this Doctrine in his Writings, and he lived long enough to aſſert it by his ſufferings, being a great ſharer in that affliction, which in the *great Rebellion* the Doctrine of reſiſtance brought upon both the King and the Church. *Anno* 1596. he publiſh'd his *Solomon*, or a *Treatiſe declaring*

claring the ſhake of the Kingdom of Iſrael, *as it was in the days of* Solo- pr. *Lond.*
mon. Wherein he proves, after the words *as it was in the days of* Solomon, inſert theſe following, *that the Kingdom of* Iſrael *was a moſt true, and lively picture of the State and Crown, — one egg being not more like another, than the State to that, under which we live*; — ſo that all his arguments without any further comment, are applicable to our Kingdom; and whereas he foreſaw, that it would be ‖Ep. ad Lect.
objected to him, *that he gives the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, eſpecially in great and abſolute Monarchies greater authority, than ſeems to ſtand with the good of the Church, or the truth of God's Word*, —— he deſires the Reader, not to attribute it to flattery, but to a conſtant and ſettled perſuaſion, — 'he intending in publiſhing the Treatiſe, the good and 'peaceable State of the Kingdom, and the maintaining of that 'powerful and majeſtical Authority, whereunto it hath pleaſed God 'to make us ſubject; —— and in the diſcourſe he affirms, † that ‖Sect. 2. p. 4, 5.
'Magiſtracy is not a mere device of Man, as they, who contemn, 'and labor to overthrow all Authority, ſpeaking evil of thoſe things, 'which they know not, have imagined; but an *ordinance of God*. 'Rom. 13. *there is no power but of God, he therefore that reſiſteth the 'power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God. Obj.* But it cannot be ſhewed, 'that it was ever eſtabliſh'd by God throughout the World (except 'only among the *Jews*) but was invented, and continued by Men 'excelling others in ſtrength and ambition. *Anſw.* The abuſes of 'Magiſtracy, tho many and grievous, cannot take away the lawful p. 6.
'uſe of it; —— and altho Magiſtracy hath been by the expreſs 'commandment of God eſtabliſh'd only in the Church, yet it be- 'longs as much to Infidels; for it is inſtituted by God, not as he is 'the Saviour of his Church, but as he is the Creator, and Preſerver 'of all Men. —— God ſets up this his Ordinance among Infidels p. 7.
'by the *light of nature* remaining in the minds of Men, *&c.* —— 'When the People ſet one over them, reſerving to themſelves Au- Sect. 4.
'thority, either to diſplace or controul him, or if need be, to riſe up p. 17.
'in arms againſt him, and to lay violent hands upon him, they give 'unto him but *improperly* the name of a King. —— *Obj.* But was Sect. 5.
'there no authority to reſtrain a King, if at any time he ſhould be p. 18.
'impious, or unjuſt in his Government, —— otherwiſe the People 'might be miſerably oppreſs'd, Religion defac'd, yea, all things turn'd 'upſide down, and in the end the Commonwealth utterly over- 'thrown. Wiſdom, therefore, Reaſon, and Neceſſity, the Glory of 'God, and the good of Men required, that there ſhould be in *Iſrael*, 'ſome Authority either in the People, Prieſts, Senate, or inferior

'Magiſtrates againſt thoſe Kings, who did degenerate into violent
'and bloody Tyrants. *Anſw.* This reaſon hath carried many head-
'long in heat to condemn, and reject utterly theſe abſolute Monar-
'chies as Tyrannical and Barbarous, *&c.* but we ought not to ſuf-
'fer our ſelves to be deceived by any appearance to judge that to
'be unlawful and profane, which God, by eſtabliſhing it in his
p. 19. 'Church, hath ſhewed to be holy and lawful, —— the authority
'of a King over his People was no leſs than is the authority of a Fa-
'ther in his Family in reſpect of his Children; who, if he do in-
'juriouſly intreat any of them, —— or live any way diſorderly, it is
'the duty of his Children, if not with ſilence to ſuffer it, yet with
'great modeſty to admoniſh him of it; but if they ſhould joyn to-
'gether, and offer any violence unto him, eſpecially if they ſhould
'throw him out of his houſe, all Men would count them rebellious,
'and ungracious Children; but if they ſhould take his life from him,
'they were to be eſteemed notoriouſly wicked, yea rather as Mon-
p. 20. 'ſters, worthy to be abhorr'd of all Men: —— no Subject of what
'place ſoever, no not the whole People jointly could lawfully uſe
'any violence againſt the King's Perſon, or proceedings, and that
'the King might (tho not lawfully in reſpect of the law of God, of
'Men, or of Nature, yet) ſafely, and freely in reſpect of his Sub-
'jects, do whatſoever pleaſed him, according as *Jacob* foretels *Gen.*
p. 21. '49. 9. —— the dealing of God himſelf doth prove the ſame, who
'when he purpoſed to preſerve *David* againſt the fury of *Saul*, would
'never ſuffer him to oppoſe *Ceila*, or any other of *Saul's* Cities a-
'gainſt him, but made him fly firſt into the mountains and deſerts,
'and afterward out of the land to the *Philiſtines*; yea *David*, altho
'he were appointed by the expreſs Word of God to ſucceed *Saul* in
'the Kingdom, yet he was ſo far from laying violent hands upon
'him, *that his heart ſmote him*, 1 *Sam.* 24. 6. i. e. his conſcience did
'accuſe him, that he had behaved himſelf diſloyally againſt the
'King, in that he had offered violence to the King's Garment, be-
'cauſe that was as a threatning of death unto him, and a great diſ-
'grace; yea further we do not read, that God did ever by any of
'his Prophets ſtir up his People to maintain his true worſhip by vio-
'lence againſt the Kings, or ever reprove them, becauſe they had
'ſuffer'd them to ſet up Idolatry, which is an evident proof of this
'point; for if it had been lawful to reſiſt in any caſe, then ſurely in
p. 22. 'the maintenance of the true worſhip of God, and of his Glory. ——
'no Man, no company of Men could for any offence committed by
'the King, either againſt God or Man, the firſt or ſecond Table,

call

'call him to account, ſummon him to appear in judgment, or uſe
'any manner of violence, either in word or deed againſt him: ——
'To the Kings of *Iſrael*, neither the Kingdom was given, nor the Sect. 6.
'conditions impoſed by Man, but by God, and therefore they could p. 23.
'not forfeit their Kingdom to Man, but only to God; —— but Sect. 7.
'what was the behavior of Loyal Subjects in ſuch caſes? the wea- p. 28.
'pons, which God gave unto his People, wherewith to defend them-
'ſelves againſt the Tyranny of their lawful Kings, were theſe. 1.
'wiſdom, carefully to avoid all occaſions of the King's anger and
'injury. 2. to avoid and decline from the violence, and injury it-
'ſelf by flying. 3. the third remedy, where the ſecond is wanting,
'is patience to ſuffer with a quiet mind the violence or injuſtice of
'the King, which could not be by wiſdom either prevented or
'avoided. 4. the laſt remedy is to appeal from the unjuſt Sentence
'of the King, not to any Man, or to any Court here on Earth,
'but to the King of Kings, even to God himſelf, whoſe ears are
'always open to hear thoſe who are oppreſt; this remedy is the
'laſt, and therefore not to be uſed, but in caſes of greateſt ex-
'tremity, whenas the violence is too too grievous, ſhameful, and
'to Man's infirmity altogether intolerable; this means did *Samuel* p. 29.
'commend unto the People; whereby they ſhould eaſe themſelves
'of thoſe intolerable burthens of tributes, which their King would
'lay upon them. 1 *Sam.* 8. 18. ſaying, then *you being thus oppreſt by*
'*your King*, ſhall not rebel againſt him, but *ſhall cry unto the Lord.*
'Where it is added, that *God will not hear them*, when they cry, this
'is meant, that could not afterwards put down their Kings, neither
'be freed from their Tyranny.

The ſame Reverend Prelate in his *Encounter againſt Parſons*, ſays p. 187.
diverſity of Religion, changeth not the natural right of Inheritance; this ancient Doctrine the Proteſtants ſtill follow, they ſtill acknowledged Henry *the fourth of* France, *when he revolted from them; but the* Romaniſts *would not admit him, while he profeſs'd himſelf a Proteſtant.*

And in his *Cauſa Regia* (his anſwer to *Card. Bell.* book *de Officio Principis Chriſtiani*) written by him, when he was Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; he ſhews, *how vain that* compact (*whether tacit or expreſt*) *is whereby Kings, as* Bell. *ſays, ſtand bound to the Pope, ſo that by virtue thereof, whenever they turn Hereticks, or would make their Subjects ſuch, he may deprive them of their Kingdoms; and whereas the Cardinal cited that of our Holy Saviour,* whoſoever doth not hate father and mother, *&c.* is not worthy of me; *he anſwers, that only* 'ſignifies, *that we ought not to obey our Parents in thoſe things, which* *Lond. An.* 1620. c. 1. §. 21. p. 26

they command contrary to the true Faith; but by no means (what Bell. compact *implies) to rob our Parents of their Poſſeſſions, — that Chriſt exerciſed his Prieſtly Office not actively in Depoſing Princes, but paſſively, by giving his life, as became a good Shepherd, for his Sheep; —— and when the Apoſtle armed St.* Timothy, *he gave him not a temporal Sword, to hurt any Man, but a Spiritual, to be exerciſed in ſuffering; for ſo he commands him,* 2 Tim. 4. 5. Watch thou in all things, endure afflictions. — † *And for* 300 *years after Chriſt, though the Chriſtians ſuffered innumerable, and moſt cruel torments* (20000 *being ſlain at one time) yet they never plotted againſt the Laws, the Magiſtrate, the Emperor, or his ſecurity in the leaſt degree; but by this argument they perſwaded Men to turn to Chriſtianity, as to the beſt Religion, becauſe it took Men off from ambition, and a deſire of change, and taught Men to obey Magiſtrates; — and accordingly* (*as* Nicephorus *relates) the Chriſtian, that but pulled down the Edict of* Diocleſian *at* Nicomedia, *was lookt upon by his fellow Chriſtians to be juſtly executed for the Fact; —— it therefore behoves Princes to conſider, in what a ſlippery place their Sacred Majeſty ſtands, if this Principle of* Depoſing Princes, *unheard of in the Church of Chriſt for* 1000 *years be true;* ‖ *and this he confirms by the authority of the Fathers, eſpecially St.* Ambroſe, *who is famous for this ſaying againſt the* Goths, My tears are my weapons, ſuch are the defence of a Biſhop, any otherwiſe I dare not reſiſt.

c. 2. §. 9. p. 73, 74.

†E Greg. Toloſano de rep. c. 7. §. 10.

c. 2. Sect. 16. p. 83.

c. 6. Sect. 14. p. 255.

Many other paſſages might be tranſcribed, were not what is already cited more than enough, ſince the Author's practice was ſo ſolemn, and unqueſtionable a confirmation of his Opinion, and his other Books (eſpecially his *diſcovery of Romiſh Rebellious Poſitions,* with *his full ſatisfaction againſt Parſons, &c.*) a proof, that he never lived to repent of ſo truly Primitive, and Apoſtolical Doctrine.

SECT. VI.

Mr. *Greenham* in his *ſhort form of Catechiſing. Qu. What do you underſtand by Father and Mother in the fifth Commandment?* Anſw. *Not only my natural Parents, but thoſe whom God hath ſet over me for my good, as Magiſtrates,* &c. Qu. *What be the duties of Servants toward their Maſters?* Anſw. *Servants ought in fear, and trembling to ſubmit themſelves to the inſtructions, commandments, and corrections of their Maſters.* Qu. *What if Parents or Maſters do not their duty to their Children and Servants?* Anſw. *Yet they muſt obey them for Conſcience ſake to God's Ordinance.* Qu. *What if they command unjuſt things?* Anſw. *Then they muſt obey God rather than Men, and ſubmit themſelves to their corrections.*

Lond. 1599. 4to p. 412, 413, 414.

Arch-

Archbiſhop *Abbot An.* 1600. publiſh'd his Lectures on *Jonas*, and I ſhall only cite one Quotation out of him: Athanaric *King of the* Goths, *ſeeing the triumph of the Emperor* Juſtinian *at* Conſtantinople, *brake forth into theſe words,* The Emperor without doubt is a God upon Earth, and whoſoever ſhall ſtir his hand againſt him, ſhall be guilty of his own blood. *Lon.* 1660. lect. 20. p. 432.

In the ſame year on *March* 1ſt. being the firſt Sunday in *Lent*, Dr. *William Barlow*, (afterwards Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and then of *Lincoln*,) Preach'd at *Paul's* Croſs (a little time after the Execution of the Earl of *Eſſex*) on *Matth.* 22. 21. and therein he well inſtructs us, —— *it pleaſeth God to be called a King in Heaven.* Pſ. 20. *and the King is called a God on Earth.* Pſ. 82. *Therefore he which denieth his duty to the viſible God, his Prince and Sovereign, cannot perform his duty to the God Inviſible*; *certainly* a mind inclined to Rebellion was never well poſſeſt of Religion; —— *they therefore, who with* Sheba, 2 Sam. 20. 1. *will make a ſeceſſion from their Prince* ——— *or with* Jeroboam, *and the ten tribes will turn from him, becauſe he hath turn'd his Father's ſcourges into Scorpions.* 1 Reg. 12. *They, who think, that they may either kill their Liege, or fall from him, or depoſe and thruſt them out of their Seat, or expoſe them to danger or fear, are guilty not only of Rebellion, but of Irreligion,* —— *the Jeſuit* Parſons *al.* Doleman *dedicates his Book to the Earl of* Eſſex *(a Principal, if not the only poyſon of the Earl's heart) wherein he would prove, that it is lawful for the Subject to riſe againſt his Sovereign,* &c. ——— *my exhortation to you is, beloved, that you will believe* Jeſus *rather than a* Jeſuit, *who willeth his Diſciples, and all Chriſtians to poſſeſs their Souls in patience.* Luc. 10. *albeit they be perſecuted even to death by their Princes*; *and St.* Paul, *who adjudgeth him to damnation,* who reſiſteth the ordinance of God. Rom. 13. *If you deſire ſome ſtories of Scripture*; Saul *an* Apoſtate *rejected by God, not dejected by* Samuel: Jeroboam *plagued, not diſpoſſeſs'd*; Ahab *reproved by* Elias, *not deprived*; Nebuchadonoſor *puniſhed from Heaven, not depoſed by his Subjects*; *the Law of God is ſtreight in this caſe, it bridles the mouth, that it ſpeak not evil of the King.* Exod. 21. *It binds the heart, not to imagine evil againſt him.* Eccl. 10. —— *the ſum of this part is that of the Prophet* Daniel 2. 21. *that the Inthroning and Depoſing of Princes, is God's only Prerogative Royal*; *and the concluſion ſhall be an argument, that if obedience be due unto* Cæſar, *a Tyrant, and a Foreigner*; *much more are we to perform it to our Prince,* &c. Pr. at *Lon.* 1601.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

London 1602. Thus alſo ſays *Francis Marbury* in his Sermon on *Eccl.* 10. 20. at the *Spittle* on *Tueſday* in *Eaſter Week*, Printed by authority; *the Principal queſtion of this Chapter* —— *is that Subjects that are Godly wiſe, ought to repreſs in themſelves all inſurrection of mind againſt the ſuppoſed ſcandals of civil adminiſtrations, and againſt the doings of Princes, and that a diſloyal thought ought not to be lent thereunto,* — *it being inſinuated by an evil ſubject, that it is impoſſible to ſtand contented in a Government, that perverts and inverts the uſe of preferments and abaſements, aiming perhaps at ſomething done by* Solomon *in his uxorioufneſs, at the inſtigation of his Idolatrous Wives;* —— *and that the ſtate of the Country is depraved by the riotouſneſs and diſſoluteneſs of the Governors,* — ☞ *but God gives us no diſpenſation for any cauſe to diſreverence the Prince, except that we be able to ſhew, that we do it at God's Commandment,* ——— *the Men of God, when they have by miſtaking exceeded towards a Ruler (though a wicked one) have uſed diligence to excuſe themſelves, and to avoid the ſcandal; ſo St.* Paul, Act. 23 5. *and* David *was cut in his heart, becauſe he had cut off the lap, that was in* Saul's *Garment; ſo that if to refuſe God be ungodlineſs, then it muſt needs be ſo to admit a contemptuous thought of a Prince, in whom God offereth himſelf unto us* ——— *and it is ſure, that they are ungodly Men, which offend in this kind, that the Holy Ghoſt calleth them* 1 Sam. 10. 27. Sons of Belial, *i. e. unyoked Perſons, which refuſe to be under the yoke of due obedience,* —— *as for the allegation made by Hereticks of Conſcience to God, when no diſobedience to God is required, it is in great Hypocriſie that God is alledged; for are they not put together in the Scripture,* fear God, and the King, and depart from the ſeditious, *or as the Text hath it,* from the various, *from thoſe that divide theſe duties ſo, as if they could not conſiſt together; and did not both* Peter *and* Paul *require ſo much, when Kings were Enemies of the truth, and of the Salvation of their Subjects? Verily when Men make their excuſe by God in this they* tell a lye for the Almighty, *as* Job *ſays in another matter, for that which is* Cæſar's *may be given to* Cæſar, *without the leaſt breach of allegiance to Almighty God; and it is moſt true, that* Chryſoſtome *ſaith on the 13th to the* Romans, ſubjection to Princes overturneth not Religion; *a point belike, that in thoſe days ſtood in need ſtill, and ſucceſſively to be urged; for the* Greek Scholiaſt, *likewiſe in his Collect on the ſame place to the* Romans, *hath it near word for word; and he ſaith after, that St.* Paul *taketh great care to urge*

it

it πανταχοῦ every where; *neither was this* (*as* Jerome *ſuppoſeth*) *by reaſon of the continuance of any old Hereſie, but becauſe St.* Paul *ſaw, that this ſin would univerſally, and ſucceſſively aſſail;* ——— *and therefore as Men hinder the work of godlineſs in themſelves, they muſt keep tenderly in the reins of their conſciences the reverence of their Prince.* ——— *Whoſoever doth vilipend his Sovereign in his conſcience, is either an Atheiſt, or a Hypocrite;* —— *the cauſes of Sedition and Rebellion are.* 1. *Pride,* —— *there are, that go under the name of reſolute, that give occaſion to upbraid the Land, as* Ezekiel *upbraided* Jeruſalem, there are in thee that have deſpiſed father and mother, *that* Ez. 22 7. *ſpeak ſcornfully both of Queen and Council.* 2. *Lack of Wiſdom in not diſcerning the policies of Princes.* 3. *lack of compaſſion in not weighing their temptations, and their neceſſities.* 4. *lack of equity, when the Subject blames his Prince for his own fault. Laſtly, forgetfulneſs of their benefits, which is unthankfulneſs,* ——— *in my Text the Lord threatens the depravers of Kings and Magiſtrates,* the foul of the Heaven ſhall carry the voice, *&c.* —— *this notes the heinouſneſs of the Sin; for the Holy Ghoſt is not wont to bewray Men for trifles* ——— *and is ſtrong evidence, that the maligning of Higher Powers is in the Catalogue of thoſe ſins, which, though they eſcape Man, yet the vengeance of God doth purſue, and as it were bring back again to the judgment ſeat; it matters not, what plauſible ſhews there be to do ſuch things, for the event diſcovers, that they are but ſhews.* Abſalom *ſeemed to have a juſt quarrel againſt* Amnon *for lying with his Siſter, eſpecially his pernicious impunity conſider'd by reaſon of* David's *indulgence, but* Abſalom's *matter was not* Amnon's *inceſt, but* Amnon's *Seniority; he was betwixt Him and the Crown, for the Event declared, what an hater of inceſt* Abſalom *was by his behavior to his Father's Concubines; and the Lord diſcovered by his Inſurrection againſt his Father, that it was ambition, that made him to kill his Brother.*

Dr. John Dove *in his Sermon* about divorcement *at* Pauls Croſs 1601. *ſays, that ſome Men will prove Rebellion, and High Treaſon out of the Scriptures, that the People are above the King, and cites in the Margin,* Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos.

Chap.

Chap. V.

The History of Passive Obedience *during the Reign of King* James.

SECT. I.

WHEN God of his great mercy had taken to himself our illustrious Queen *Elizabeth* in the beginning of the Year 1603. her undoubted Successor King *James* published the same Year a little, but accurate Treatise intituled, *The true Laws of free Monarchies*, which is an exact Comment on 1 *Sam.* 8. 11, *&c.* where *Samuel* shews the *Israelites*, what would be *the manner of the King* that should reign over them, that if he made their free-born Children Bond-men, *vers.* 11, *&c.* and seized their Estates by Injustice and Violence, *vers.* 14, *&c.* they should be allowed no other remedy in that day of their Calamity, *but to cry unto the Lord*, *vers.* 18. and to punish them for their Contempt of his immediate Conduct, God threatens *he will not hear them.* In this Book, says the learned *John Forbes*, 'he doth at length demonstrate, That in 'a free Monarchy (such as he proveth his Kingdom of *Scotland* 'to be) the Subjects for no occasion, or pretext whatsoever may 'take Arms, without power from the King, and much less against 'him, whether he be a good King or an Oppressor, *&c.*——and 'comprehendeth the sum of all his Discourse concerning this mat-'ter, in these words following: *Shortly then to take up in two or 'three Sentences, grounded upon all these Arguments, out of the Law 'of God, the Duty and Allegiance of the People to their lawful King: 'Their Obedience, I say, ought to be to him, as to God's Lieutenant on 'Earth, obeying his Commands in all things, except directly against 'God, as the Commands of God's Minister; acknowledging him a Judge 'set by God over them, having power to judge them, but to be judg'd 'only by God, to whom only he must give account of his Judgment; 'fearing him as their Judge, loving him as their Father, praying for 'him as their Protector; for his continuance, if he be good; for his 'amendment, if he be wicked; following and obeying his lawful Com-'mands; eschewing and fleeing his Fury in his unlawful, without resist-'ance, but by Sobs and Tears to God; according to that sentence used*

Duplies to Henderson. p. 20.

'in

'*in the Primitive Church in the time of the Persecution:* Preces & 'lacrymæ sunt arma Ecclesiæ; i. e. *Prayers and Tears are the Arms* '*of the Church.* And the Book it self speaks out, 'The Wicked-'ness of the King can never make them, that are ordained to be 'judged by him, to become his Judges: And if it be not lawful 'to a private man to revenge his private Injury upon his private 'Adversary (since God hath only given the Sword to the Ma-'gistrate) how much less is it lawful to the People, or any part 'of them (who all are but private men) to take upon them the 'use of the Sword, whom to it belongeth not, against the pub-'lick Magistrate, whom to only it belongeth.

But should I transcribe every Passage out of that accurate little Treatise, I should swell this Volume, and tire the Reader, whom I therefore refer for his further satisfaction to the Work it self, in which, and his other Works, the King hath shewn himself as a learned man styles him, *A Pillar of the Church; a Support to a ruinous Commonwealth; a brave Champion of Christ against Antichrist, and the new Arians; an invincible Defender of Kings against the Papal Tyranny, the Impostures of the Cardinals, and the Seditions of the Puritans; the Restorer of the Episcopal Dignity, and the Defender of it against Presbyterian Anarchy, the Defender of the Catholick Faith, and the truly peaceable King.* *Oweni Antipar.* Pag. 117, 118.

R. Doleman, i. e. *Parsons* having publish'd *his Conference concerning the Succession to the Crown of* England, *Ann.* 1594. (a Book from whence most of our modern Enemies of the true Rights of Princes have borrowed both their Arguments and Authorities) Sir *John Hayward, Ann.* 1603. sets out his Answer to the first part of that Conference (*which was reprinted* Ann. 1683. *for the satisfaction of the zealous Promoters of the Bill of Exclusion*): The Book was written, as himself in his *Dedicatory Epistle* tells the King, *in Defence of the Authority of Princes, and of Succession according to proximity of Blood; and to maintain, that the People have no lawful Power to remove the one, or repel the other.*

The *Jesuits* main Argument is, *that Succession to Government by nearness of Blood, is not by Law of Nature, or Divine, but by the humane and positive Laws of any Commonwealth, and consequently, that it may upon just Causes be alter'd by the same, changing the fashion of Government, and limiting the same with what Conditions they please.* *Hayw.* c. 1. pag. 1. Ed. 1683. and p. 31. But the learned Civilian confutes the Opinion with much Reason, and many very pertinent Authorities; he grants, 'That it is incon-'venient to be governed by a King, who is defective in Body or Pag. 6.

'Mind; but it is a greater inconvenience by making a Breach in
'this high point of State, to open an Entrance for all Diſorders,
'wherein Ambition and Inſolency may range at large.——When
c. 2. p. 39, 40, &c. 'S. *Peter* terms Kings a *Human Creature*, 1 *Pet.* 2. he means not as
'you interpret, a thing created by man.——Is a brutiſh Creature
'to be taken for a thing created by a Beaſt?——If ſo, then all
'Creatures ſhould be called Divine, becauſe they were created by
'God, to whom it was proper to create.——And S. *Paul* ſays,
'*Rom.* 13. That all Authority is the Ordinance and Inſtitution of
'God.——It is evident, that in the firſt heroical Ages, the Peo-
'ple were not governed by any poſitive Laws, but their Kings did
'both judg and command by their Word, by their Will, by their ab-
'ſolute Power,——without any reſtraint, or direction, but only of
'the law of Nature;——and when it grew troubleſom and tedious
'for all the People to receive their Right from one man, Laws were
'invented, as *Cicero* ſaith,——and when any People were ſubdued
'by Arms, Laws were laid like Logs upon their Necks, to keep
'them in more ſure Subjection.——Parliaments in all places have
'been erected by Kings;——ſo that neither Laws nor Parliaments
'were aſſigned by the People for aſſiſtance and direction to their
'Kings.——We muſt judge Facts by Law, and not Law by Facts,
'or Example, which *Alciat* and *Deciane* do term a Golden Law,
'becauſe there is no Action either ſo impious or abſurd, which
Pag. 46. 'may not be parallel'd by Examples. I never heard of Chriſtian
'Prince, who challeng'd infinite Authority without limitation of
'any Law, either Natural or Divine; but where you term it an
'abſurd Paradox, that the People ſhould not have power to chaſten
'their Prince, and upon juſt Conſiderations to remove him, I am
Pag. 47. 'content to joyn with you upon the Iſſue:——Had you no Text
'of Scripture? no Father of the Church? no Law? no Reaſon
'to alledg?——Do not the Apoſtles (1 *Pet.* 2. 10, 13. *Jude* 8.
'*Rom.* 13. *Tit.* 3. 1. 1 *Tim.* 2. 1.) oblige us to pray for and obey
'Kings? But perhaps you will ſay, that the Apoſtles did not mean
'this of wicked Princes; the Apoſtle ſpeaks generally of all.
'S. *Peter* 1. 2. 18. makes expreſs mention of evil Lords: And what
'Princes have ever been more either irreligious or tyrannical, than
'*Caligula*, *Tiberius*, *Nero*, the Infamy of their Ages, under whoſe
Pag. 50, 51. 'Empire the Apoſtles did both live, and write?——I will give
'you an Example of another time, *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Aſſyria*,
'waſted all *Paleſtina*, took *Jeruſalem*, ſlew the King, burnt the
'Temple, took away the holy Veſſels and Treaſure; the reſidue

'he

'he permitted to the Cruelty and Spoil of his unmerciful Soldiers,
'who defiled all places with Rape, Ruine, and Blood. After the
'glut of this Butchery, the People which remained, he led Captive
'into *Chaldea*, and there commanded, that whosoever refused to
'worship his Golden Image, should be cast into a firy Furnace:
'What Cruelty, what Impiety is comparable to this? And yet the
'Prophets *Jeremy* (c. 29. 7.) and *Baruch* (c. 1. 11.) did write to
'those captive Jews, to pray for the Prosperity and Life of him
'and *Baltasar* his Son, that their days might be upon Earth, as the
'days of Heaven: And *Ezekiel* (c. 17.) both blames, and threatens
'*Zedekiah* for his Disloyalty in revolting from *Nebuchadnezzar*,
'whose Homager and Tributary he was: What Answer will you
'make to this Example? —— Princes are the immediate Mini-
'sters of God, and therefore he calls *Nebuchadnezzar* his Servant;
'and the Prophet *Esay* calls *Cyrus*, a prophane and heathen King,
'*the Lord's Anointed*: ——In regard hereof *David* calls them Gods:
'And if they do abuse their Power, they are not to be judged
'by their Subjects, as being both inferior, and naked of Authority;
'because all Jurisdiction within their Realm is derived from them,
'which their presence only doth silence and suspend: But God re-
'serveth them to the sorest Tryal; *horribly* and *suddenly* (saith the
'Wise man) *will the Lord appear unto them, and a hard Judgment*
'*shall they have.*——If he commandeth those things that are law- Pag. 52.
'ful, we must manifest our Obedience by ready performing: If
'he enjoyn us those Actions that are evil, we must shew our
'Subjection by patient enduring: It is God only who setteth Kings
'in their State; it is he only who may remove them. 2 *Chron.* 1.
'*Prov.* 28. 2. 2 *Chron.* 28. 6.—And therefore we endure with pa-
'tience unseasonable Weather, unfruitful Years, and other like
'Punishments of God; so must we tolerate the imperfection of
'Princes, and quietly expect either Reformation, or else a Change:
'This was the Doctrine of the Ancient Christians, even against Pag. 53.
'their most mortal Persecutors. — In a word, the current of the
'Ancient Fathers is in this Point concurrent; insomuch as among
'them all there is not one found (not any one; one is a small
'Number, and yet I say confidently again, there is not any one)
'who hath let fall so loose a Speech, as may be strained to a con-
'trary sense: How then are you of late become both so active and
'resolute to cut in sunder the Reins of Obedience, the very Si-
'news of Government and Order? ——Neither was the Devil ever Pag. 54.
'able, until in late declining times, to possess the Hearts of Chri-

'ſtians with theſe curſed Opinions, which do evermore beget a 'world of Murthers, Rapes, Ruins, and Deſolations: For tell me, 'What if the Prince, whom you perſwade the People you have 'power to depoſe, be able to make and maintain his Party?—— 'What if other Princes, whom it doth concern, as well in Honor, 'to ſee the Law of Nations obſerv'd, as alſo in policy, to break 'thoſe Proceedings, which may form Preſidents againſt themſelves, 'do adjoyn to the ſide? What if, whilſt the Prince, and the Peo- 'ple are (as was the Frog and the Mouſe) in the heat of their 'Encounter, ſome other Potentate play the Kite with them both, c. 3. p. 57, &c. 'as the *Turks* did with the *Hungarians*? — That Princes may be 'chaſtiſed by their Subjects, your Proofs are Two; one is drawn 'from certain Examples; the other from the good Succeſs and 'Succeſſors, which uſually have followed. — Slender Threds to 'draw any Man to your Opinion. — There is no Villany ſo vile, 'which wants Example; —— and by the ſecret, yet juſt Judgment 'of God, divers evil Actions are carried with appearance of good Pag. 61. 'ſucceſs. — When *Saul* perſecuted *David*, he defended himſelf no 'otherwiſe than by flight: During this purſuit, *Saul* fell twice in- 'to his power; once he did not only ſpare, but protect him; the other 'time his Heart did ſmite him, for that he had cut away the Lap 'of his Garment; laſtly, he cauſed the Meſſenger to be ſlain, who 'upon requeſt, and for pity, had further'd (as he ſaid) the Death 'of that ſacred King. We have a Precept of Obedience, which 'is the Mould wherein we ought to faſhion our Actions. God 'only is ſuperior to Princes, who uſeth many Inſtruments in the 'execution of his Juſtice; but his Authority he hath committed Pag. 68. 'unto none. — The Examples of *Suintilla*, and other *Gothick* Kings 'in *Spain* is anſwer'd, by ſaying, that the Kingdom was not then 'ſetled in Succeſſion. And then he ſhews the illegality of the Pro- ceedings againſt King *John*, *Edw.* 2. and *Rich.* 2. and adds, 'Three Pag. 72, 73, 74, 75. 'Cauſes are commonly inſinuated by you, for which a King may 'be depoſed, Tyranny, Inſufficiency, and Impiety: But what 'Prince could hold his State, what People their Quiet aſſured, if 'this your Doctrine ſhould take place? How many good Princes 'doth Envy brand with one of theſe Marks? What Action of 'State can be ſo ordered, that either blind Ignorance, or ſet Ma- 'lice will not eaſily ſtrain to one of theſe Heads? Every execu- 'tion of Juſtice, every demand of Tribute, or Supply ſhall be claim- 'ed Tyranny: Every unfortunate Event ſhall be exclaimed Inſuf- 'ficiency: Every kind of Religion ſhall by them of another Sect

'be

'be proclaimed Impiety. —— But are not Princes ſubject to Law, C. 4. p. 81,
'and Order? *Anſw.* I will not deny, but there is a Duty for 82, &c.
'Princes to perform; but how prove you, that their Subjects have
'power to depoſe them, if they fail? —— The people may ſo give
'away their Authority, that they cannot reſume it, and few Princes
'in the World hold their Eſtates by Grant of the people. — If the
'Prince hath no power, but by Commiſſion from the People, then
'all Eſtates are popular. —— Our Laws do acknowledge ſupreme
'Authority in the Prince within the Realm and Dominions of
'*England*; neither can Subjects bear themſelves either ſuperior, or 1 *El.* 1.
'equal to their Sovereign, or attempt violence either againſt his
'Perſon, or Eſtate. —— No Prince is Sovereign, who acknow C. 5. p. 92.
'ledgeth himſelf either ſubject, or accountable to any but to God. —
'Did *David* bear Arms againſt his Anointed King? Did he ever
'lift up his Eye lids againſt him? Did he ever ſo much as defend
'himſelf otherwiſe than by flight? —— What then ſhall we ſay unto
'you, who, to ſet up Sedition and Tumult, abuſe all Divine and
'Human Writings in whatſoever you believe will advance your pur-
'poſe? who ſpend ſome Speech of Reſpect unto Kings for Allure-
'ment only, to draw us more deep into your deceit? &c. ——
'The Coronation Oath is only a free, Royal Promiſe to diſcharge P. 102.
'that Duty which God doth impoſe ——— The Prophets, the A- P. 105.
'poſtles, Chriſt himſelf hath taught us to be obedient to Princes,
'tho both Tyrants and Infidels. This ought to ſtand with us for a
'thouſand Reaſons, to ſubmit our ſelves to ſuch Kings, as it plea-
'ſeth God to ſend unto us, without either judging or examining
'their Qualities: their Hearts are in God's Hand, they do his Ser-
'vice, ſometimes in preſerving, ſometimes in puniſhing us. —— If
'they abuſe any part of their power, —let them aſſuredly expect,
'that God will dart his vengeance againſt them with a moſt ſtiff
'and dreadful Arm. In the mean ſeaſon we muſt not oppoſe our
'ſelves otherwiſe, than by humble Suits and Prayers, acknowledg-
'ing that thoſe Evils are always juſt for us to ſuffer, which are ma-
'ny times unjuſt for them to do. ——— If we break into diſorder,
'we reſemble the Giants, who ſcaled the Skies. —— It was alledged C. 6. 116,
'in behalf of ſome Cities in *France*, that they were not Rebels, becauſe 117.
'they had not profeſſed Allegiance unto *Henry* the Fourth: but the
'chiefeſt Lawyers of our Age did reſolve, that foraſmuch as they
'were original Subjects, even Subjects by Birth, they were Rebels in
'bearing Arms againſt their King, altho they had never profeſſed
'Allegiance. —— But the admiſſion of the people (ſay you) hath

often

☞ 'often prevailed againſt Right of Succeſſion. So have Pyrates
'againſt Merchants, ſo have Mutherers and Thieves againſt true
Chap. 8 p. 'meaning Travellers. —— But may not a man treſpaſs on ſuch
146, 147. 'Laws for the good of the Realm? *Anſw.* What Conſcience can
'any men have in defiling their Faith? Such Conſciences you en-
'deavour to frame in all men, to break an Oath with as great fa-
P. 156, 'cility, as a Squirrel can crack a Nut. —— In what a miſerable
157. 'condition ſhould Princes live, if their State depended upon the
'pleaſures of the people, in whom, company takes away ſhame,
'and every man may lay fault on his Fellow? How could they
P. 164. 'command? Who would obey? &c. —— It ſeems ſtrange to
'reaſon to plant Religion under the Obedience of Kings, not
'only careleſs thereof, but cruel againſt it. But when we conſi-
'der, that the *Jews* did commonly forſake God in proſperity, and
'ſeek him in diſtreſs; that the Church of Chriſt was more pure,
'more zealous, more entire, I might alſo ſay, more populous,
'when ſhe travelled with the ſtorm in her face, than when the
'wind was either proſperous or calm. —— We may learn thereby,
'no further to examine, but to admire, and embrace the unſearch-
P. 170. 'able Wiſdom and Will of God. —— God hath taught by the A-
&c. 'poſtle S. *Paul*, that *whoſoever reſiſts the higher powers* (which at
☞ 'that time were Infidels) *receive unto themſelves damnation.* You
'teach, that whoſoever doth not in the like caſe reſiſt, doth
'damnably offend; were not the Spirit of Diviſion, otherwiſe called
'the Devil, ſeated in your Soul, you would not thus openly oppoſe
'the Settlings of your rotten Brain, againſt the expreſs and direct
'Sentence of God. —— The Apoſtle teacheth us to be obedient
'to higher powers for *conſcience ſake*, and not for any private re-
P. 173, 'ſpect. —— You, whoſe Office is to pray, to inſtruct Men in
&c. 'pure Devotion, to ſettle their Souls in piety and peace, —— you
'take upon you the Policies of State, you read and deface the Re-
'putation of Kings, you make your ſelves both Judges and Mode-
'rators of all their Actions, allowing them to flie no further, than
'you give them Wings. You diſpoſe not only their Affairs, but
'their Crowns at your pleaſure; you hunt them not to covert, but
'to death. —— You train up your Followers in the high myſtery of
'Treaſon. —— To theſe ends you wreſt Scriptures, you cor-
'rupt Hiſtories, you counterfeit Reaſons, you corrupt all Truth. ——
'And all, you ſay, is directed to a holy and religious end. Away
'then with your Devotion, and ſo we ſhall be rid of your dangerous
'Deceit.

This

This was his Opinion in the Days of King *James*; nor was it newly taken up to comply with that Prince: for, as Sir *John Heyward* himſelf informs us, he wrote his Account of the Depoſition of King *Richard* the Second, and the Uſurpation of King *Henry* the Fourth, to ſhew, that the People have no lawful power to reſiſt their Prince, nor to hinder the Succeſſion according to Proximity of Blood. *Ep. Ded. ante* Anſw. to Doleman.

SECT: II.

On S. *James*'s day, being *July* 25, of the ſame year, was this Learned Prince crowned, the Sermon on that Solemnity being Preached by Dr. *Bilſon*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, on *Rom.* xiii. 1. *The powers that are, are ordained of God.* In which we are told; 'That 'the likeneſs, which Princes have with the Kingdom of God, and 'of Chriſt, conſiſts in the Society of the Names and Signs which 'they have common with Chriſt; in the *Sufficiency* of the Spirit, 'wherewith God endueth them; in the *Sanctity* of their Perſons, 'which may not be violated; in the *Sovereignty* of their Power, 'which muſt not be reſiſted.——By the anointing of Kings God 'hath taught us, that their perſons, once dedicated to his Service, are, 'not only protected by his ſtretched-out Arm, but are, and ought to 'be *ſacred*, and *ſecured* from the violence and injury of all mens 'hands, mouths and hearts; *Touch not mine anointed*, ſaith God by 'his Prophet, which is chiefly verified of Princes, whom God 'anointeth to be the chiefeſt of his People.——— Neither is vio'lence only prohibited towards them, but all offence in ſpeech, or 'thought.———Yea, the very Robes, which they wear, are ſanctified.—The Sovereignty of their Power will ſoon appear, as well 'by the perſons ſubjected, as by the things committed to their 'Charge, *Let every ſoul be ſubject*, &c. He that brings an Exception, 'uſeth but a Deluſion, ſays *Bernard*, for who can looſe what God 'hath bound; neither is this an Exhortation to Obedience, but a 'plain Injunction. *You muſt needs be ſubject*, &c. *You muſt* imports a 'neceſſity; *for conſcience*, declares a Duty to God; the danger of 'reſiſting being as great as the Commandment of obeying is 'ſtreight. *Whoſoever reſiſts, reſiſts the ordinance of God; and they, 'that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves judgment.* Dare any man pro'miſe himſelf ſucceſs, and protection in Conſpiracy and Treaſon, 'when the Spirit of God ſo plainly threatens ruin, and condemna'tion to all that reſiſt, whoſoever they be.—— To maintain Pr. London, 1604 P. 105.

'Peace

'Peace and Tranquillity, God hath allowed Kings power over the 'Goods, Lands, Bodies and Lives of their Subjects: and what pri- 'vate men may not touch without theft and murder, that Princes 'may lawfully diſpoſe, as God's Miniſters, taking vengeance on 'them that do evil. —— He that reſiſteth and diſhonoreth them, 'reſiſteth and diſhonoreth the Ordinance of God, to his own con- 'fuſion in this life, where Princes are permitted to revenge the 'wrongs done to them; and in the next, where God everlaſtingly 'puniſheth the contempt of his Ordinance. —— What kind of Ho- 'nor is due to Princes, is ſhortly delivered in that Commandment, Rom xiii. 1. '*Honor thy Father.*———— The Apoſtle in this place nameth three 'things due to Princely Dignity, *Subjection*, *Honor* and *Tribute*; 'teaching us, that Princes muſt be obeyed with Conſcience, Reve- 'rence and Recompenſe. — It is therefore ſin to deſpiſe, or refuſe 'their Laws, commanding that which is good, and likewiſe to re- 'ſiſt, or reproach their Power, puniſhing that which is evil even in 'our ſelves.———— Howbeit when Princes ceaſe to command for 'God, or bend their Swords againſt God, whoſe Miniſters they are, 'we muſt reverence their Power, but refuſe their Wills. It is no 'reſiſtance to obey the greater before the leſſer, neither hath any 'man cauſe to be offended, when God is preferred. Yet muſt we 'not reject their Yoke with violence, but rather endure their 'Swords with patience, that God may be Judge between Prince and 'People, with whom is no unrighteouſneſs nor reſpect of perſons. —— 'The man of ſin hath not more groſly betrayed his pride, and rage 'in any thing, than in abaſing the Honor, and abuſing the Power, 'and impugning the Right of Princes, by depoſing them from their 'Seats, and tranſlating their Kingdoms to others, by abſolving their 'Subjects from all Allegiance, ond giving them leave to rebel, by 'ſetting his Feet in Emperor's Necks, and ſpurning off their Crowns 'with his Shooe, *&c.* In all which he hath ſhewed himſelf like him- 'ſelf, to yoke whom God hath freed, and to free whom God hath 'yoked; to deject whom God hath exalted, and to erect whom 'God hath humbled; to challenge what God hath reſerved, and 'to croſs what God hath commanded.

And whatever Citations may be made out of this Learned Prelate's Book, *Of the true Difference*, &c. Printed at *Oxford* 1585, in *Quarto*, and the next year at *London* in *Octavo*, to prove the contrary Tenet, the Quoters, and ſome of them, I fear, wilfully miſtaking what he ſays of ſuch Republicks and States, in which upon the Invaſion of Subjects Privileges they are allowed by fundamental, writ-

ten,

ten, known Compact (as in *Germany* by the *Bulla Aurea*) to reſiſt, as if it were applicable to free Monarchies, and particularly to *England*, contrary to his own expreſs Aſſertion; * That the Subjects in *England* have not that lawful Warrant to draw their Sword without conſent of their Prince, as the *Germans* have, without conſent of the Emperor. He alſo teaches us our Duty, agreeable to the holy Scriptures, and primitive Antiquity in many places of that Book. * P. 518, 519, &c. where he proves it at large.

'† What Queſtion can this be between the Prince and the People, 'whether the Magiſtrate ſhall be depoſed? ſince God hath ex- 'preſly commanded the People to be ſubject to the Sword, and not 'to reſiſt. Againſt which Precept no *earthly Court* may deliberate, 'much leſs determine to break his Law, or *licenſe the People* to fruſtrate 'his Heavenly Will. —— It is one thing to diſburthen the Con- 'ſcience *from obeying the Evil which a Prince commandeth*, which a 'Prieſt may do, and another thing to take the Prince's Sword out of 'his hand *for abuſing his Authority*, which the Prieſt may not do. — '*Manaſſes* was carried Captive out of his Realm in the midſt of his 'furious Idolatry; and yet in his abſence and miſery no man ſtirred 'againſt him, but his Kingdom was reſerved for him, until he was 'releaſed out of Priſon, and ſent back from *Babylon*. It was there- 'fore not for fear of Death, but for regard of Duty, that the zea- 'lous Prieſts and Prophets ſubmitted their perſons to thoſe wicked 'Princes, whoſe Idolatry they reproved with the loſs of their 'lives. —— If the Prince wilfully maintain Hereſie and open Im- 'piety, the Biſhops are to reprove, admoniſh, *&c.* but ſtill they 'muſt ſerve him, honor him, pray for him, and teach the People to 'do the like; and *with meekneſs enduring* what the wrath of the Prince 'ſhall lay upon them, *without annoying his perſon, reſiſting his power, 'diſcharging his Subjects, or removing him from his Throne.* Which, 'ſays he to the *Jeſuit*) is your way of cenſuring Princes. —— 'The Church of Chriſt offers not any Example of reſiſting and de- 'poſing Princes for a thouſand years. —— It is not enough for 'you, to have Laws of your own making to licenſe you to bear 'Arms againſt your Prince, you muſt have *God's Law for your 'Warrant*, or elſe you may come within the compaſs of heinous and 'horrible Rebellion. —— *Theoph.* (that is the Proteſtant Inter- 'locutor) That's the Caſe, which you take in hand, that the People 'may puniſh the Prince offending, as the Prince may the People. '*Phil.* (i.e. the *Jeſuit.*) Either the people, or none muſt do it. '*Theoph.* And ſeeing the people may not do it, it is evident, that God 'hath reſerved the Magiſtrate to be puniſhed by himſelf, and not

† P. 339, &c.

P. 359.

P. 366.

P. 382.

P. 384.

P. 502. 'given the people power over their Prince. —— Do not with vio-
'lence reſtrain them, but in patience poſſeſs your own ſouls. This
'is the way for all Chriſtian Subjects to conquer Tyrants, and this
'is the Remedy provided in the New Teſtament againſt all Perſecu-
'tions, not to reſiſt Powers, which God has ordain'd, leſt we be
'damn'd; but with all meekneſs to ſuffer, that we may be crown-
P. 512. 'ed. —— If Princes preſume to violate the Dominion, which God
'hath reſerved to himſelf, we may not rebel, (that's your *Jeſuitical*
'Doctrine) but diſobey them in that, or any point, that is pre-
'ſcribed by man *againſt the will of God, and ſubmit our ſelves to en-*
P. 541. '*dure perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake.* —— If Princes embrace
'the Truth, you muſt obey them; if they purſue Truth, you muſt
'abide them.

And theſe Paſſages, with what hath been formerly cited out of the ſaid Book, will, I think, ſufficiently vindicate both the Author and his Doctrine, from all that is uſually objected againſt them. Eſpecially if we conſider, that when the *Jeſuit* had quoted *Goodman*'s Book of *Obedience*, as applauding *Wyat*'s Rebellion, the *Proteſtant* anſwers,

Par. 3. p. 273. 274. 'It is much that you meaſure the whole Realm by one man's
'merit; and more, that you draw the words, which he ſpake,
'from the meaning which he had, to warrant your Rebellions.
☞ 'The party, which you name, at the ſame time took Queen *Mary*
'for no lawful Prince, which particular and falſe ſuppoſal beguiled
'him, and made him think the better of *Wyat*'s War; but our Que-
'ſtion is of lawful Princes, not of violent Intruders, and therefore
'*Goodman*'s Opinion, which himſelf hath long ſince diſliked, is no
'way ſerviceable to your Seditions; or as it is in the Margin, *Good-*
'*man*'s private Opinion, long ſince corrected by himſelf, cannot preju-
'dice the whole Realm. *Goodman* did not hold, that lawful Princes
'might be thruſt from their Crowns, but that Queen *Mary* was no
'lawful Magiſtrate.

One of his great Arguments againſt her, being taken from her Sex, which was made by God, as he dreamed, uncapable of Government; this being one of his, and *Knox*'s beloved Paradoxes: but he lived to repent and retract them.

SECT.

SECT. III.

To give the King at his entry into *England*, a Specimen of the temper of the Zealots, they tender'd him a Petition called the *Mille manus* Petition (as if they would have intermixed their desires with threatnings) by telling the King, that 1000 *Ministers*, (as they loved to be called) had influence enough on many thousands of People, to incline them to give disturbance to his Government, (if he did not comply with their requests) to which the University of *Oxford* wrote a full and satisfactory answer; wherein they affirm, *that the Presbyterians allow the King, not* potestatem Juris, *but only* facti, *while they make him a maintainer of their proceedings, but no commander in them; and all the while the King submits his Scepter unto the Scepter of Christ, and licks the dust of the Churches feet (for which they Quote* T. C. *lib.* 1. *p.* 180.) This assertion they condemn together with the other Antimonarchical, Antiepiscopal Doctrins of that Petition; nor was this the sole judgment of that Famous University, but of her Famous Sister at *Cambridge*, whose Epistle is published at the end of that answer, and wherein they aver, *Quicunque Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ doctrinam, vel disciplinam, vel ejus partem aliquam legibus publicis stabilitam,* &c. *that whosoever shall by writing, speaking, or any other way publickly oppose the Doctrine, or Discipline of the Church of* England, *or any part thereof established by publick Laws, shall be uncapable of taking any Degree, and suspended from any Degrees he hath formerly taken. Dated* Octob. 7. 1603. *An.* 1603. p. 29.

Dr. *Anthony Rudd* Bishop of St. *Davids* Preach'd before the King *May* 13. 1604. on *Ps.* 101. v. 2. and in it gives an account of *David*'s demeanor both before, and after he attained the Crown of *Israel*; and among other things, he commends him for his patient waiting on God till *Saul*'s Death; David *had given proof of his rare patience in his distressed Estate, during the expectancy of the Kingdom of* Israel; *for though in that* Interim *of sundry years attendance after that* Samuel *had Anointed him, before the Crown fell unto him by the death of King* Saul, *he sustain'd many grievous troubles, inconveniences, and dangers; yet he still possessed his Soul in patience without seeking* unlawful means *to hasten his own advancement, by the making away of his Sovereign. Insomuch as though* Saul, *who deadly pursued him, was twice by the Providence of God offer'd into his hands, that he might have done his pleasure with him, first in the Wilderness of* Engedi, *and secondly in the desert of* Ziph, *yet he spared* pr. at *Lond.* 1604. p. 26, 27.

red his life, and did no violence to his Perſon, leaving him to God's Judgment, and referring his own cauſe to God's merciful providence, patiently attending the Lord's leiſure, till he ſhould vouchſafe to come, and put him in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom.

To King *James* at his firſt coming to the *Engliſh* Throne, the Learned Dr. *Feild* was a Chaplain, as he was alſo an eminent Champion for the Church againſt her adverſaries of *Rome*; and his arguments againſt the Uſurpations of the Popes are equally cogent againſt the Republicans. * *If they ſhall ſay, that Sovereign Princes are ſubject to none, while they uſe their authority well; but that if they abuſe it, they loſe the independent abſoluteneſs thereof, their ſaying will be found to be Heretical; for if upon abuſe of independent Authority, they that have it, loſe and forfeit it* ipſo facto, *then authority, and abuſe of authority, at leaſt extreme abuſe of it, cannot ſtand together; which is contrary to that of St.* Auguſtine, *where he ſaith,* nec tyrannicæ factionis perverſitas laudabilis erit, ſi regiâ clementiâ tyrannus ſubditos tractet, nec vituperabilis ordo regiæ poteſtatis, ſi rex crudelitate tyrannicâ ſæviat; aliud eſt namque injuſtâ poteſtate juſtè velle uti, & aliud eſt juſtâ poteſtate injuſtè velle uti. *i. e. neither ſhall the perverſneſs of Tyrannical Uſurpation ever be praiſe worthy, though the Tyrant uſe his Subjects with all Kingly clemency; nor the order of Kingly Power be ever ſubject to juſt reprehenſion, though a King grow fierce and cruel like a Tyrant; for it is one thing to uſe an unlawful Power lawfully; and another thing to uſe a lawful Power unrighteouſly, and unjuſtly.*

* of the Church l. 5. c. 45. p. 610.

de bono conjugali c. 14.

SECT. IV.

After the happy diſcovery of the damnable *Gun-powder Treaſon*, and the juſt execution of the wretched miſcreants, that were engaged in it; the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, which had been firſt ſummoned *Anno* 1603. and with it a Convocation; the Members of which reflecting upon the horrid deſign of *Garnet*, and his Accomplices, thought themſelves in juſtice to their Sovereign, and their own Principles obliged, when they met, to cenſure and condemn ſuch Doctrins, as led Men to ſuch Rebellious Practices; hereupon the Prolocutor of the lower houſe, Dr. *Overall* (then Dean of St. *Pauls*, afterwards Biſhop *of Coventry and Litchfield*, then of *Norwich* (whoſe vaſt learning gives him a character beyond all, that can be ſaid of him here) drew up a Treatiſe, which being reviewed by the Upper Houſe of *Convocation*, was mutually agreed

agreed on, and declared to be the Sense of the *Church of England* in that very Synod, which made the Canons, that as yet are lookt upon as the *Code* of our Church; a Manuscript of which Acts, and Canons having been happily put into my hands, I cannot but think my self obliged to transcribe some Passages, that discover the belief of our Church representative at that time. This Book is since Printed by *W. Kettilby* an. 1690. lib. 1. c. 2.

They positively assert; *that God having created our first Parents, and purposing to multiply their seed into many Generations, for the replenishing of the World with their Posterity, did give to* Adam *for his time, and to the rest of the Patriarchs, and chief Fathers successively before the Flood, Authority, Power, and Dominion over their Children, and Offspring to Rule, and Govern them;* ——— *adding further, if any Man shall affirm, that Men at the first without all good Education or civility ran up and down in Woods and Fields, as wild creatures, resting themselves in Caves and Dens, and acknowledging no Superiority one over another, until they were taught by experience the necessity of Government; and that thereupon, they chose some among themselves to order and rule the rest, giving them power and authority so to do; and that consequently all civil Power, Jurisdiction, and Authority was first derived from the People, and disorder'd Multitude; or either is originally still in them, or else is deduc'd by their consents naturally from them, and is not God's Ordinance originally descending from him, and depending upon him, he doth greatly err.* Can. 2.

Thus they account for the Government of the old World; nor did the Flood alter the nature of Authority, or alienate the Rights of Princes; for say they, *If any Man shall affirm, that the civil Power and Authority, which* Noah *had before the Flood, was by the deluge determin'd, or that it was given unto him again by his Sons or Nephews; or that he received from them the Sword of his Sovereignty; or that the distribution of the World to his three Sons, did depend upon their consents; or received from them any such authority, as without the same it could not lawfully have been made;* ——— *or that this Power, &c. did not proceed from God, or were not properly his Ordinance, but that they had the same from the People, their Offspring; he doth greatly err.* Can. 6. 11.

Besides, it is generally agreed upon, *that obedience to Kings and Civil Magistrates, is prescrib'd to all Subjects in the 5th Commandment.* Ex. 20. 12. *where we are enjoyn'd to* Honour our Parents; *whereby it follows, that subjection of Inferiors unto their Kings and Governors, is founded upon the very law of Nature; and consequently that the sentence of Death awarded by God himself against such, as shewed themselves incor-* cap. 16.

incorrigibly disobedient to their Parents, or cursed them, or struck them, was likewise due unto those, who committed any such offences against their Kings, and Rulers, being the Heads and Fathers of their Commonwealths and Kingdoms; which is not only apparent by way of consequence, but likewise by example, practice, and precept; as where Shimei *is judged to die for cursing of* David *the Lords Anointed; where* David *himself, appointed by God to succeed King* Saul, *would not be induced by any perswasions to lay violent hands upon his Master the King.*

Can. 16. *If any Man therefore shall affirm, that it was lawful in the Old Testament, either for Children or Nephews, to have been disobedient to their Fathers, being their chief Governors from the Creation till* Moses's *time or afterward, either for the Children of* Israel, *either under* Moses, Joshua, *the* Judges, *or their Kings to have been disobedient to them in their lawful commandments, or to have murmured or rebelled against them; or that it was in those times more lawful unto Subjects for any cause whatsoever, either to curse their Princes, Kings, or civil Governors, or to bear arms against them, or to depose them from their Kingdoms, or Principalities, or to lay violent hands upon their Persons, than it was in the said times lawful upon any occasion for Children, either to have cursed their Parents, or to have rebelled against them, when they did reprove or correct them, or to have withdrawn themselves from their subjection, saying unto them (they being private Men) we will be no more your Children, or you shall be no more our Fathers; or (bearing civil authority over them) we will depose you from your Government over us, and will be no longer ruled by you; or to have offered any violence to them, or to have beaten them, and much less to have murder'd them, he doth greatly err.*

After this, they deduce the Scheme of Paternal and Regal Government, through the several Ages of the Church, down to the time of the *Jewish* Kings; and, when they considered the case of *Uzziah*, who for offering to burn Incense on the Altar (which was peculiarly the Priests Office) was by God smitten with lepro-

1. 1. Can. 22 sie, they aver, *if any Man shall affirm, that* Azariah, *and the other Priests used, or that they lawfully might have used any violence, or force against the King's Person, either in hindering him for burning of Incense, or in thrusting him out of the Temple, or in compelling him to dwell apart in a house, as he did (though he was a leper) if he had not of himself yielded to the observation of the law in that behalf, or that he was deprived of his Kingdom, either by the said stroke of God, or by his dwelling in a house apart; or that any thing, which the Priests then did, might have been a lawful warrant to any Priest afterward*

in

in the Old Teſtament; either to have depoſed by ſentence any of their Kings from their Kingdoms for the like offences, or to have uſed arms, or repreſſed ſuch their unlawful attempts by forcible ways, though they had imagined, the ſame might have tended to the preſervation of Religion; or that either before that time or afterward, any Prieſt did reſiſt by force of Arms, or depoſe any of the Kings either of Iſrael, *or of* Judah *from their Kingdoms, tho the Kings of* Iſrael *all of them, and fourteen of the Kings of* Judah *were open and plain Idolaters, he doth greatly err.* Can. 23. l. 1.

And becauſe againſt this the Caſe of *Athaliah* might be objected, they ſay further, 'if any Man ſhall affirm, that *Jehoiada*, and his 'Wife did amiſs in preſerving the life of their King *Joaſh*; or that '*Athaliah* was not a Tyrannical Uſurper (the right Heir of that 'Kingdom being alive) or that it was neither lawful for *Jehoiada*, 'and the reſt of the Princes, Levites, and People to have yielded 'their ſubjection unto their lawful King; nor having ſo done, and 'their King being in poſſeſſion of his Crown, to have joyn'd to-'gether for the overthrowing of *Athaliah* the Uſurper, or that '*Jehoiada* the High Prieſt was not bound, as he was a Prieſt, both 'to inform the Princes and People of the Lords promiſe, that *Joaſh* 'ſhould Reign over them: —— or that this fact, either of the 'Princes, Prieſts, or People was to be held for a lawful warrant for 'any afterward, either Princes, Prieſt, or People, to have depo-'ſed any of the Kings of *Judah*, who by right of Succeſſion came 'to their Crowns, or to have killed them for any reſpect whatſoe-'ver, and to have ſet another in their places according to their own 'choice; or that this example of *Jehoiada*, or any thing elſe in 'the Old Teſtament did give them to the High Prieſt any Autho-'rity to diſpute, determine, or judge, whether the Children of the 'Kings of *Judah*, ſhould either be kept from the Crown, becauſe 'their Fathers were Idolaters; or, being in poſſeſſion of it, ſhould 'be depoſed from it, in this reſpect, or any other reſpect whatſoe-'ver; he doth greatly err. Can. 25.

—— 'If any Man ſhall affirm, that it is lawful for any Captain, 'or Subject, high or low whoſoever, to bear Arms againſt their 'Sovereign, or to lay violent hands upon his Sacred Perſon —— cap. 28. 'he doth greatly err: —— and this Doctrine is earneſtly inculca-'ted in many other places. The *Iſraelites* in *Ægypt*, after *Jo-'ſeph*'s death, being oppreſt very tyrannically many ways, did ne-'ver rebel againſt any of thoſe Kings, but ſubmitted themſelves to 'their authority, tho their burthens were very intolerable, both in 'reſpect of the impoſſible works impoſed on them, and becauſe al-'ſo they might not offer ſacrifices unto the Lord (a ſpecial part 'of God's Worſhip) without apparent danger of ſtoning to death;

'beſides,

'besides, it may not be omitted, when God himself sent *Moses* to 'deliver them from that servitude, he would not suffer him to car-'ry them thence, till *Pharaoh* their King gave them licence to de-'part.

l. 1. cap. 30. 'When *Alexander* the Great, having overthrown *Darius*, sent to '*Jaddus* (the High Priest, and Prince of the *Jews*) to assist him 'in his Wars, and become tributary to the *Macedonians*, as he had Jos. Ant. 'been to the *Persians*; he return'd for his answer, that he might l. 11. c 8. 'not yield thereunto, because he had taken an Oath for his true 'Allegiance unto *Darius*, which he might not lawfully violate while '*Darius* lived, being by flight escaped, when his Army was defeat-Can. 30. 'ed. If any Man shall affirm, that *Jaddus* the High Priest did 'amiss in binding his obedience to King *Darius* by an Oath; or 'that he had not sinned, if he had refused, being thereunto re-'quired, so to have sworn; or, having so sworn, he might law-'fully have born Arms against *Darius*, or have sollicited others, 'whether aliens, or *Jews* thereunto; he doth greatly err.

And agreeable hereunto they tell us, was the belief and practice of our Blessed Saviour, and his Holy Apostles under the Gospel.

Can. 2. l. 2. 'If therefore any Man shall affirm, that our Saviour did exempt 'himself from the obedience due to the civil Magistrate; or did 'any way, or at any time encourage the *Jews*, or any other, di-'rectly, or indirectly, to rebel *for any cause whatsoever* against the '*Roman* Emperor, or any of his subordinate Magistrates; or that 'he did not very willingly both himself pay tribute to *Cæsar*, and 'also advise the *Jews* so to do, or that, when he willed the *Jews* 'to pay Tribute to *Cæsar*, including therein their duty of obedience 'unto him, he did not therein deal plainly, or sincerely, but meant 'secretly, that they should be bound no longer to be obedient unto 'him, but until by force they should be able to resist him; or that 'he did not utterly, and truly condemn all devises, conferences, and 'resolutions whatsoever, either in his own Apostles; or in any 'other Persons for the using of force against civil Authority, or 'that by Christ's Word, all Subjects of what sort soever without 'exception, ought not by the law of God to perish with the Sword, 'that take, and use the Sword *for any cause* against Kings, and So-'vereign Princes, under whom they were born, or under whose 'Jurisdiction they do inhabit; —— or that Christ did not well, 'and as the fifth Commandment did require, in submitting him-'self, as he did, to Authority, altho he was first sent for with Swords 'and Staves, as if he had been a Thief, and then afterward car-

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'ried to *Pilate*, and by him (albeit he found no evil in him) con-
'demn'd to death; or that by any Doctrine or Example, which
'Christ ever taught, or hath left upon good record, it can be
'proved lawful *to any Subjects, for any cause of what nature soever*, to ☞
'decline either the Authority and Jurisdiction of their Sovereign
'Princes, or of any their lawful Deputies, and inferior Magistrates
'ruling under them; he doth greatly err.

'If any Man shall affirm, —— that the Subjects of all the Tem- Can 6. l. 2.
'poral Princes in the World, were not as much bound in St. *Paul*'s
'time to be subject unto them, as the *Romans* were to be subject to
'the Empire, not only *for fear, but even for conscience sake*; or that
'St. *Paul*'s commandment (by virtue of his Apostleship, and assi-
'stance of the Holy Ghost) of obedience to Princes, then Eth-
'nicks, is not of as great force to bind the Conscience of all true
'Christians, as if he had been then *summus Pontifex*; —— or that
'the Primitive Church was not as well restrain'd *de Jure* by the
'Doctrine of Christ's Apostles, as *de facto* from bearing Arms a-
'gainst such Princes, as were then Ethnicks, and transferring of
'their Kingdoms from them unto any others; —— or that the Apo-
'stles at that time, if they had found the Christians of sufficient
'force for number, provision, and furniture of Warlike Engines to
'have Deposed those Pagan Princes, that were then both Enemies, ☞
'and Persecutors of all, that believed in Christ; would (no doubt
'have moved, and authorized them to have made War against such
'their Princes, and absolved them from performing any longer
'that obedience, which they (as Men temporizing) had in their
'Writings prescribed unto them; or that, when afterward Christi-
'ans were grown able for number, and strength to have opposed
'themselves by force against their Emperors, being Wicked and
'Persecutors, they might lawfully so have done for any thing, that
'is in the New Testament to the contrary; he doth greatly err.

'If any Man shall affirm, that it is not a most profane impiety, Can. 10.
'tending altogether to the discredit of the Scriptures, for any Man l. 2.
'to hold, that St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* had so instructed the Christians
'in their times, as that they knew, if they had been able, they
'might without offence to God have deposed *Nero* from his Em-
'pire; or that the Christians in *Tertullian*'s time, when they pro-
'fess'd, that notwithstanding their numbers, and forces were so great,
'as they had been able to have distress'd very greatly the Estate of
'the Emperors (being then Persecutors) they might not so do,
'because Christ their Master had taught them otherwise, ought not

'to be a ſufficient Warrant for all true Chriſtians to deteſt thoſe 'Men in theſe days, and for ever hereafter, who contrary to the 'Example of the ſaid Chriſtians in the Primitive Church, and the 'Doctrins of Chriſt, which were then taught them, do endeavor 'to perſwade them, when they ſhall have ſufficient Forces, to re-'bel againſt ſuch Kings and Emperors at the Pope's commandment, ☞ 'and to thruſt them from their Kingdoms and Empires; or that 'this deviliſh Doctrine of animating Subjects to Rebellion (when 'they are able) againſt their Sovereigns, either for their Cruelty, 'Hereſie, or Apoſtacy, was ever taught in the Church of Chriſt 'by any of the Ancient Fathers, during the Reigns of *Diocleſian*, 'or *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, or *Valens* the *Arrian*, or of any other the 'Wicked Emperors before them; or that it is not a wicked per-'verting of the Apoſtles words to the *Corinthians*, (touching their 'choice of Arbitrators to end diſſentions among themſelves, rather 'than draw their Brethren before Judges, that were Infidels) to in-'fer thereof, either that St. *Paul* intended thereby to impeach in 'any ſort the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrates, as if he had meant 'they ſhould have choſen ſuch Judges, as by civil Authority might 'otherwiſe have bound them, than by their own conſents to have 'ſtood to their award; or to authorize Chriſtian Subjects, when 'they are able, to thruſt their Sovereigns from their Royal Seats, 'and to chuſe themſelves new Kings in their places; he doth great-'ly err.

But it were requiſite to tranſcribe almoſt that whole admirable Treatiſe, ſhould I give the Reader a view of all thoſe paſſages, that vindicate the Divine Right of Kings, and aſſert the neceſſity of Subjects being obedient to them; while I forbear in expectancy, that the moſt venerable owner of that great Treaſure, will very ſpeedily make the World happy in the publication of ſo elaborate a work.

SECT. V.

Some few years after this, King *James* ordered to be Printed, and had in every Church, a little Treatiſe called *Deus & Rex*, which was publiſh'd both in Latin and Engliſh (and, as I am very credibly inform'd, drawn up by Biſhop *Overal*) which was reprint-ed in Engliſh *Anno* 1663. by the eſpecial command of King *Charles* II. and therein the Nation is taught their duty toward their Superiors thus; *In the Allegiance of a Subject to his Sovereign, the evil,*

evil he is to eſchew, is. 1. Evil in action; *for he is not to touch him with any evil touch, not to ſtretch out his hand againſt his moſt ſacred Perſon, nor ſo much as to affright, or diſgrace him by cutting the lap of his Garment.* 2. Evil in words; *for he is not to curſe his Ruler.* 3. Evil in cogitation; *for he is not to curſe the King in his thought;* (*and all this is proved by many Texts of Scripture placed in the Margin.*) *Now if the Subjects of our Sovereign out of their Allegiance to His Majeſty are to ſuccor, and defend him even with the hazard of their lives,* &c. *and* the bond of this Allegiance is inviolable, and cannot by any means be diſſolv'd, *then* &c. Eccleſ. 8. 2. *is an evident Teſtimony, that Kings are ſubject unto God, and have no mortal Man their ſuperior, who may require of them an account of their doings, and puniſh them by any Judicial Sentence,* ——— *which Doctrine is excellently confirm'd by the inſtance of* David *in the caſe of* Uriah, *and the Prophet* Nathan's *carriage towards him; after which 'tis ſaid, that God only gave unto* Saul *Kingly Power, and not the People, who are ſaid* to make him King; *i. e. approving him, as made by God,* &c. *But was not* Saul *a Tyrant, a bloody Oppreſſor; did not the blood of ſo many Innocents cry to God for vengeance, and by his ſpecial commandment* (whoſo ſheds man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed) *deſerve death? Yet* David *by God's own appointment deſign'd to the Kingdom ſays,* the Lord keep me from doing that thing unto my Maſter the Lord's Anointed, &c. ——— *the Biſhop of* Rome, (*and by parity of reaſon, any other Perſon, if I Judge aright*) *cannot diſpenſe with the* Law of Nature, *which from the firſt beginning of the reaſonable Creature is unchangeable; nor with the* Moral Law of God, *whoſe Precepts are indiſpenſible; but the duty of Subjects in obedience to their Sovereign, is grounded upon the Law of Nature, beginning with our firſt beginning; for as we are Born* Sons, *ſo are we Born* Subjects. ——— *But is there no means to ſtay the fury of a Sovereign command, if he ſhould be ſo tyrannous, and profane, as to endeavour to oppreſs the whole Church at once, and utterly to extinguiſh the Light of Chriſtian Religion?* ——— *Princes in their rage may endeavour wholly to deſtroy God's Church, but in vain, becauſe Chriſt hath ſo built it on a Rock, that the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it;* ——— *and when they do labour to effect ſo heinous an impiety, the only means we have to appeaſe their fury, is* ſerious repentance *for our ſins, which have brought this chaſtiſement upon us, and* humble prayer *unto God,* who guides the hearts of Princes like Rivers of Waters. *You know, how before the coming of Chriſt, the* Jewiſh Church *by the command of* Ahaſuerus, *was to be deſtroy'd, both young and old,* &c. *here the whole Church by the barbarous deſign-*

p. 15,16. edit. 1663.

p. 17. &

p. 19.

p. 29,30. &c.

p. 35.

p. 38. Obj.

Anſ.

Eſth. 4.

ment of Ahaſuerus *ſeem'd to be in the very Jaws of death, yet they take no arms, they conſult not how to poyſon* Ahaſuerus *or* Haman, *they animate no deſperate Perſon ſuddenly to ſtab them, but there was only* great ſorrow *among them, and* faſting, *and* weeping, &c.

This Book gave ſo much diſguſt to a party of Men in this Kingdom, that they could not be quiet, till ſomething was Printed under the name of an anſwer to it (tho every Pamphlet, that is ſo called, does not deſerve that name) and to make it paſs the more plauſibly, it aſſumes the ſame title, *Deus & Rex*, and is ſaid to have been Printed at *Colen, An. Dom.* 1618. the Author of which (tho unqueſtionably a Papiſt, as appears by many paſſages in the Book)

p. 13. affirms, *that the* Scots *had undoubtedly the true ſpirit of the Goſpel, who profeſs'd (and for it he quotes* Knox's *Hiſtory of the* Scotch *Church) that they would be Subjects to no one, unleſs they could enjoy their deſired*

p. 19. *Reformation; and that the former Dialogue falſly aſſerts, that Kings have their Power only from God, and are accountable only to him; and that the duty of Subjects cannot be diſſolv'd, if the King turns Tyrant, Infidel, Heretick, or Apoſtate; and that Kings are not to be depoſed, or reſiſted, unleſs by prayers and tears, tho they are fall'n into ſo much impiety and madneſs; as to ſeek the ruin of the Church, and the deſtruction of Religion:* Which Aſſertions the Author condemns, but with no reaſon, and a great deal of injuſtice, while he owns, and improves the *Romiſh* Doctrins of reſiſting, and depoſing Princes in many places, ſo eaſily are Men inclined to be *deſpiſers of Dignities, and blaſphemers of Dominions.*

De Adiaphoris, Lond. 1606. c. 8. §. 34 p. 69 ‖§. 93. p. 71. *c. 9. Sect. 35. p. 79

Gabriel Powel ſays, *that when St.* Paul *bids us be obedient for* conſcience ſake, *that he means, we muſt no way offend the Magiſtrate by rebelling againſt him; but that we muſt keep a good Conſcience in his ſight, who hath ſet the Magiſtrate over us* —— ‖*for his Power is from God,* —— *and to the juſt praiſe of our Reformation, he adds,* *that *no Church in* Europe *reform'd her ſelf more orderly, than the* Church of England; *in which nothing was done tumultuarily, by force and arms, or by fraud; but all alterations were made by the ſupreme Power of the Nation, agreeable to the Word of God, and the Example of the Primitive Church.*

Oliver Ormered *in his picture of a Papiſt; It is not lawful for Subjects to attempt the murthering of their Sovereign* for Religion ſake, or for any pretence whatſoever. *Go with creſſet, and torchlight throughout the whole Book of God, and throughout the ſpacious volumes of the Ancient Fathers, and tell me, whether any Prieſt, Levite, Evangeliſt, Apoſtle, Ancient Father ever hath taught, counſell'd, and much leſs practiſed*

ctiſed the like, I ſay not againſt Lawful Magiſtrates, but tyrannous Rulers, and ſuch as were reprobated of God, ——— *the Prophet* Iſaiah *complain'd of the Exactions, and Oppreſſions of the Kings of* Iſrael, *ſhew'd them their faults, and admoniſh'd them of God's vengeance; but he did not animate, encourage, and incite the People to avenge themſelves of their Princes, and to lift up Arms againſt them;* ——— *the Prophets* Amos, Micah, *and* Zephaniah *give ſufficient teſtimony, that the Rulers in their times were very wicked Men, and ſuch as did grind the faces of the Subjects; and yet all this notwithſtanding they did not adviſe the Subjects to mutiny, or rebel againſt their Princes.* ——— *When* Rome *was pure and primitive; you ſhall find, the* arms of the Church were tears and prayers; *but now they are degenerate from their former purity, and openly threaten the lives of Kings.* ——— *the ancient* Romans *ſhall in judgment riſe againſt you, and condemn you; for they conſpired not the death of Pagans, Infidels, and Tyrants, that made havock of the Church of God,* &c. p. 176. p. 179.

SECT. VI.

Among theſe Divines I will place one Civilian, the famous *Albericus Gentilis*; who, tho Born in *Italy*, yet lived long in *England*; the King's Profeſſor of the Laws in the moſt Famous Univerſity of *Oxon*, of which he was one of the greateſt Ornaments. I ſhall not mention, what he ſays on this ſubject in his Books de *Jure belli*; ſince he hath undertaken it profeſſedly in his *three Royal Diſputations*, as he calls them; in the firſt of which, treating of the *abſolute power of a King* (wherein his Notions are very agreeable to the Sentiments of his Maſter King *James* in his *true law of free Monarchies*, to which he refers) he affirms, *that he is abſolutely ſupreme, who acknowledges nothing above him, but God, to whom only, and not to any other he is to render an account.* —— *he confeſſes there were ſome Magiſtrates improperly called Kings, ſuch as the Kings of* Sparta, *and of* Egypt, *to which laſt there were laws ſet how far they ſhould walk, and how often hath themſelves, who might be accus'd when they were dead, and being convicted be denied decent Burial; but thoſe do not deſerve to be called Kings, whoſe Subjects pay them no more obedience, than they pleaſe.— A Prince is a God upon Earth, his Power is greater, than either that of a Father of old over his Children, or that of a Maſter over his Servants. All Princes are feudataries to God, to whom they ought to render an account of their Government, who is their only Judge,* —— *'tis a Maxim in the Civil Law,* Princeps legibus ſolutus eſt, a Prince is free from laws; *London* 1605. 4to. p. 9, 10, 11. p. 17. p. 34.

laws; the Greek *Interpreters underſtand it, of his freedom from Penal Laws; for a Prince hath no Judges, who can compel him; others, that he is exempt from the coaction, not from the direction of the law, —— but all agree againſt any force to be uſed againſt him.*

This, and much more to this purpoſe, the Reader will meet with in that firſt diſputation; while the third treats largely, *how unjuſt*
p 39. *any violence is, which Subjects uſe againſt their King, ——— by King,*
p. 100. *he ſays, he means ſuch a Prince, as hath no Superior, no Judge, or Governor over him; he means alſo a lawful Prince, not a Tyrant; but ſuch a lawful Prince who rules Tyrannically, i.e. ſeeks the deſtruction of the Commonwealth. It is a fundamental and unqueſtionable Law, that Men ought to honour*
p.101,102. *their Prince, and not to ſpeak evil of him, —— and that what injuries ought not to be done to a Parent, ought much leſs to be done to a Prince;*
parad. 3. *but no Man, ſays* Tully, can take away the life of his Father without great ſin. *This perhaps he ſpoke like a* Stoick, *but it was alſo ſpoken like a great Lawyer; for the* Roman *Lawyers were great followers*
Rom. 13. *of that Sect of Philoſophers; —— the Power of a Prince is by Divine Right, not by the ſole Conſtitution of Men. —— Suppoſe a Prince going*
p. 103. *about to deſtroy his own Country, as* Nero *did, even Tyranny is more tolerable than Anarchy; —— what happened when* Nero *was ſlain? In the*
p. 105, *Reigns of the three following Princes, which laſted but a few Months,*
106,107. *more blood was ſpilt, than in the* 14 *years of* Nero's *Government. When it is objected, that we owe more to our Country than our Prince, he flatly denies it, —— affirming, that the very Heathens knew, that God ſent evil Princes, and that to reclaim Men from their ſins; and that God hath left us remedies for ſuch evils, ſuch as repentance of our Vices, obedience*
☞ *to our Sovereign, thereby to encline them to be kind, and gentle; patience*
p. 112. *to take off the edge of their fury, and ſighs, and tears. —— If the caſe of the* Low Countries *be objected, and that our excellent Queen* Elizabeth *both praiſed, and defended them; the ſame anſwer muſt ſerve for this, as for all examples; that we muſt judge not according to examples, but according to Laws: or the caſe of the Men of* Libnah, *who rebelled againſt* Jehoram, 2 Chron. 21. 10. *be inſiſted on, we muſt anſwer, ſays* Druſius (*and ſo we have another witneſs to this truth, the Learned* Druſius) *that every action, that is related in Holy Scripture, is not praiſed, nor was the cauſe good, that becauſe the Prince had deſerted the true Religion, therefore they might deſert him, —— for the Chriſtians did not de-*
☞ *ſert the Apoſtate* Julian, *and that action is not to be made a pattern, that is done contrary to reaſon and law; nor does our defence of the* Dutch *confirm the Juſtice of their cauſe; for we may juſtly defend thoſe, who*
p. 116. *themſelves are engaged in an unjuſt War, as I have in more than one*

no

place proved as to this fact of Queen Elizabeth. —— *If Equals have, no power one over another, how much leſs hath an inferior power ove his ſuperior, a Subject over his Prince? he ſhall be reſtrain'd by his ſuperior, who is God,* —— *is it not in every Mans mouth, that a Prince hath no other Judge but God?* —— *Shame and conſcience, and honour may check them, but not their Subjects.* ——— Obj. *But do not* Aquinas, Luther, Peter Martyr, *and* Beza *allow of reſiſtance?* Anſw. *the book* de regimine Principis *is not* Aquinas's, *ſays* Sigonius (*lib.* 17. *de regn. Ital.*) Luther *was deceived by the* German *Lawyers, and brought to alter his opinion for the worſe, and what he ſpoke he ſaid only of feudataries, and of a Defenſive War.* Martyr *was ſwayed by examples, not reaſon; as if becauſe the* Jews *reſiſted the* Macedonians, *and* Romans, *whoſe Subjects they were not, therefore Subjects may reſiſt their lawful Sovereigns,* ——— *the example of St.* Ambroſe *does not reach this caſe, for he uſed no force, nor had he any right to deny the temple to the Emperor, which was his,* —— *and* Beza *ſays only, that the Laws muſt authorize ſuch reſiſtance.* ——— *But there are cogent reaſons to encline to the practice of Paſſive Obedience.* 1. *It is a rule, that we muſt not ſpeak evil of the Prince.* 2. *Force towards a Father is unlawful, therefore towards a Prince.* 3. *A leſs evil is not to be removed, if a greater will follow.* 4. *If a Man in defence of his Mother ought not to reſiſt his Father, neither ought he to reſiſt his Prince in defence of his Country.* 5. *No one can depoſe a Prince, but he, who made him; but the People did not make him,* &c. 6. *No evil is to be done, that good may come of it.* 7. *How can a King have abſolute Power, when he hath ſo many* Ephori *over him, as he hath Subjects?* 8. *The Authority of the Ancients,* Plato, *and* Tully. ——— *If it be objected, that* Plato *ſays, that Parents, when they grow mad, muſt be reſtrain'd; and that others ſay, that a Tyrant is a Madman: I anſwer, we conſtitute a Guardian over a mad Prince; but we deny that a cruel Tyrannical Prince is to be reckoned a Madman.* Plato *and* Tully, *and* Bartolus *are of the opinion, that* there can be no juſt cauſe of rebelling againſt, or reſiſting a Prince. *The ſentence of Mr.* l' Hoſpital *is obſervable, that the Faction of the* League *was very potent; the defence the* Hugonets *made, ſeem'd neceſſary, but that only the King's cauſe was juſt; that both the* Hugonots *and* Leaguers, *were guilty of waging War againſt their King; but the* Hugonots *in a leſſer degree, becauſe the neceſſity of ſelf defence is more excuſable, than the Ambition of a Crown; but no Cauſe was juſt, but the King's; for there cannot be any juſt cauſe of reſiſting a lawful Prince.*

p. 118. p. 121, 122 123. p. 125. &c. p. 132.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The treasonable Design of *Garnet*, and his Accomplices, gave occasion to the making, and imposing the *Oath of Allegiance*, as good Laws generally owe their Rise, and Original to men's ungoverable Passions, and irregular Manners; but no sooner did the Oath appear, but out came two Breves of Pope *Paul* the Fifth, to forbid the taking of it: and Cardinal *Bellarmine*'s Letter to the Archpriest *Blackwel* upon the same Account. To these Adversaries that Learned King wrote an Answer, *Tripici nodo triplex cuneus*, and immediately Books multiplied on both sides to a great number, *Bellarmine*, *Gretser*, *Suarez*, *Eudæmon*, *Johannes*, *Scioppius*, *Becanus*, *Parsons*, and others attempting to relieve the baffled Papacy; while Bishop *Andrews*, Bishop *Barlow*, Bishop *Buckeridge*, Bishopt *Abbot*, Bishop *Moreton*, Bishop *Prideaux*, *Isaac Casaubon*, *Burhil*, *Thompson*, *Collins*, and others, stoutly defended their King, as they ought. And tho their Arguments seem particularly levelled against the Papists, yet by parity of reason they condemn all such for the like Opinions and Practices, whoever asserts, or is guilty of them. It were a Subject worth a wise man's pains, who had abilities and leisure, to give an accurate Account of that Controversie; but I shall only cite the Authors, as they occur, and make for the present purpose. The King's Opinion we need not doubt of, since the severest Enemies of this Doctrin confess, that it hath been a commendable policy in Princes to popagate such Opinions, nor have the Atheistical Politicians spared even *Solomon* himself, as he served his own, and not the interest of Truth, when he said, *By me Kings reign.* Bishop *Andrews*'s Sentiments have been published in the first part of this History, to which may be added other Passages in the Writings of the same Author: * *Upon misconceiving this point, some have fallen into a fancy, that* his anointed *may forfeit their Tenure, and so cease to be his.* —— *If after he is anointed, he grow defective, — prove a Tyrant, fall to favor Hereticks, his anointing may be wiped off, or scraped off, then you may write a Book* de justa abdicatione, *make a holy League*, &c. —— *but it is not Religion, nor Virtue, nor any spiritual Grace, this Royal Anointing.* Christus Domini *is said, not only of* Josias, *a King truly Religious, but of* Cyrus, *a mere Heathen; not only of* David, *a good King, but of* Saul, *a Tyrant, even when he was at the worst.* —— Unxit in Regem, *Royal Unction gives no Grace, but a just Title only; it includes nothing, but a just Title; it excludes nothing,*

* Vol. of Serm. p. 803, 804.

thing, but uſurpation; God's claim never forfeits, his Character never to be wiped out, or ſcraped out; nor Kings loſe their Rights, no more than Patriarchs did their Fatherhood. ——— *Never was any truly partaker of the inward anointing of a Chriſtian Man, but he was ever faſt and firm to the Royal Anointing.* P. 809.

The ſame excellent Prelate in his Anſwer to *Tortus* (or Cardinal *Bellarmin*'s Book againſt King *James*'s Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, ſays, *That Subjects are bound to obey their Prince by all Law, Natural, Moral, Civil, Municipal, That Chriſt never interdicted any Subjects Obedience; his Father ſent him not into the World on this Errand, nor did he ſend any of his Followers;* ——— *Let the King be a Heathen, he ceaſes not to be a King; let him be a* Julian, *an* Apoſtate, *which is worſe than a Heathen,* ——*yet he is a King ſtill, and againſt even ſuch it is not lawful to take Arms, nay, it is a ſin, not to take Arms in their defence, when they command us.* ——— *Both* Papiſts *and* Puritans *conſpire the hurt of Kings, as* Herod *and* Pilate *agreed to murther Chriſt;* — *both being equally injurious to Kings, in ſtriving to rob them of their Authority.* ——— *Kings in their Kingdoms are God's Vicars.* ——— *And the ancient Chriſtians cheerfully obeyed them* ——— *A forced Obedience rather becomes the Devil, than a Chriſtian, for they are ſubject againſt their wills; but to the praiſe of Chriſtianity, the Chriſtians in the Infancy of the Church were ſo ſincerely obedient, that their Enemies could not beſpatter them; and ſo cheerfully patient, that their Enemies were forced to admire them.* ——— *And it is blaſphemy againſt Chriſt to think, or ſay, that he would have any one, that is his Vicar, to hinder Subjects from being true to their Prince, or Kings from being ſafe.* ——— *Kings derive their Authority from God, the people confer nothing upon them, they are* God's anointed, *not the* people's; ——— *the Form of Government may be from men, but the Authority is always from Heaven.* London 1609. p. 16. 36. P. 43. P. 110. P. 158, 161. P. 321. P. 384, 385.

Anno 1610, The ſame Learned Prelate publiſhed his Anſwer to Cardinal *Bellarmin*'s Apology, and therein avers, † *That every Subject is bound by his Allegiance, not to ſuffer any one who ſhall endeavour either to depoſe his Prince, or to diſpoſe of his Kingdom; he is bound to oppoſe himſelf againſt any Invader, neither to abſolve himſelf from his Allegiance, nor to ſuffer himſelf to be abſolved by any other; not to take Arms againſt his Sovereign, but to defend him from all violence in his Crown and Perſon, and to diſcover all Conſpiracies.*—*To* render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's. *The Apoſtles did ſo to* Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Domitian. *The Martyrs did ſo to* Commodus, Severus, Decius, Diocleſian. *The Fathers did ſo to* Conſtantius, Valens *and* Anaſtaſius. *Nay, the Popes themſelves did ſo to the* Arians, † C. 2. p. 58. P. 132.

to Theodoric, *and the* Goths; *in their times the contrary Doctrin was reckoned to be Hereſie.* Theſe were the Sentiments of that great man, than whom, while he lived, the King had not a more Loyal Servant, nor the Church a more Learned Prelate, as the Editors ‖ of his *Opuſcula*, with Juſtice, aver.

‖ *Ep. Ded. Regi.*

When *Becanus*, a buſie *Jeſuit*, had undertaken to anſwer this admirable Prelate's Books againſt *Bellarmin, Rich. Thompſon, an.* 1611. wrote his Vindication, and ſmartly cenſures his Adverſary, for ſaying, *That in* England *we ſwear Allegiance to our Kings upon theſe two conditions: 1. As long as we ſtay in* England. 2. *As long as he maintains the true Religion.* Both which Propoſitions, as he ſays, are moſt falſe; and then he proceeds to confirm his Hypotheſis, proving, in purſuance of his Deſign, *That to the Oath of a Papiſt no regard ought to be had;* ☞ *for who can believe, whether he ſwears truly, and from his Heart, who defends the Lawfulneſs of a mixt Propoſition, of which one part is ſpoken, the other reſerved?* —— *The Text,* Touch not mine anointed, *only concerns Kings, and in the whole Bible none are called* the Lord's anointed, *but Kings. And* Rabbi Levi Ben Gerſhon, *the* Jew, *hath commented more honeſtly, and more like a Chriſtian, on* 1 Sam. 12. 24. *than the Fathers of the Society of the* Jeſuits. *All Princes, even Pagans, have a ſupreme Power over all their Subjects, and in all Cauſes, and* Proſcribere, & non poſſe proſcribi propria ſunt Regum timendorum in proprios greges, & ad ipſos cœlitùs delapsâ autoritate, ac peculiari quâdam ratione ſpectant, *i. e.* To puniſh others, and not to be puniſhable themſelves is the peculiar Right of Kings, derived unto them from above.

P. 20. P. 27. P. 44. P. 78, 79, 83.

Nor was *Becanus* the only Antagoniſt, that Biſhop *Andrews* met with in this Cauſe, *Eudæmon Johannes*, a *Cretan*, and a Jeſuit (and he needs no other Character) undertakes the Defence of *Garnet*, and the Cenſure of Allegiance, him Dr. *Samuel Collins*, the publick Profeſſor of Divinity at *Cambridge*, undertakes, wherein he averrs, * *That the* Jeſuit *had belyed King* James, *when he called him a Follower of* Knox, *to whoſe Opinions he was always moſt averſe, , deteſting both him and his Followers, whom he, upon all occaſions, rather puniſhed, than countenanced,* —— † *Shew me, that there is any ſuch power, I do not mean only in private perſons, but in the Pope, or in any other mortal, to depoſe, or to murder a King.* —— *If a King do not his Duty, he is to be left to the Divine Tribunal:* Againſt thee only have I ſinned, *ſays* David; *for* he was a King, *ſays S.* Hierom, *and* had no one whom he might fear. *Underſtand it of coercive power, not only not to puniſh, but alſo not to upbraid him,* for who ſhall ſay to a King, why doſt thou

Cantab. 1612. * Par. 2. p. 52. † Par. 3. c. 72. p. 258. ☞

ſo?

ſo? *Eccl.* 8. 4. *And* who can reſiſt him? *Prov.* 30. —— *But you have found out this pretty Diſtinction, that as long as a King remains a King, let him be never ſo tyrannical, his Subjects dare not oppoſe him, but when the Pope depoſes him, then it is lawful boldly to oppoſe him:* (And I would fain know, where the odds is, if the Pope, or the people depoſe him) *ſo that if the Commons have power, and the Pope conſent, and no danger of ſcandal follow, the murder of Kings is lawful and honorable.* —— *Conſider with your ſelf, what a gap you open to popular Licentiouſneſs, when you praiſe thoſe Men, who magnifie the parricides of Princes?* P. 2. 3. P. 254.

The ſame Author in his *Epphata* to *F. T.* being a Vindication in *Engliſh* of the ſame Prelate, vindicates the ſame Doctrin; in his *Epiſtle Dedicatory* he ſays, *That tho Kings* die like men (*i. e.* Quatenus homines, non quatenus Reges) *yet we are to remember*, that they fall like one of the *Principes*, i. e. *one of the Angels, ſays the* Cardinal *himſelf, among others, on that Pſalm, who, we know, are not judged, till God judges them: though no doubt but that aggravates their Judgment ſo much the ſooner.* —— *It were worth the conſidering, what correſpondence ſuch Grounds have with the ancient Doctrine, which the Cardinal, and his Followers would ſeem ſo cloſe to follow. Of* Chryſoſtome, *that* a Sovereign King is accountable to none (*not only to his Subjects, but*) not ſo much as to his Succeſſor (*as* David *ſaid, that he is to be judged by God only.*) *The ſame* Chryſoſtom *noting, that whereas the* Pſalmiſt *paſſes over other miracles of the Wilderneſs in deep ſilence, he inſiſts only on the Death of* Og *and* Sehon, *two mighty Monarchs, becauſe Kings lives are ſo wholly in God's Hands, and the Diſpoſition of them is alway* miraculous, *reſerved and appropriated to God himſelf. Of S.* Baſil, *that* a King is ſubject to no Judge. *Of* Ambroſe, *that* nullis tenetur Legibus, *not only the King of* Iſrael, *but not the King of* Egypt. *Of the Pope in* Theodoret, *who told* Theodoſius, *that* it was not lawful to implead a King, not only in his perſon, but not perſonating another, *not* fictione juris, *as the Lawyers ſay.* — ‖ *Now Obedience is become among the Ceremonies, and the honoring of our Parents,* i. e. *in truth, of our Princes,* Patres Patriæ, *by ancient ſtile,* (*and ſo* Ezechias *called the Prieſts* his children, 2 *Chron.* 29. 11.) *is as ſubject to alteration, as the Sabbath Day.* —— *And becauſe the* Jewiſh *Ceremonies may not only be omitted, but may not be retain'd without heinous crime, therefore it ſhall be Conſcience [to wax wanton againſt Princes, to ſhake off their Yoke, yea, merit, virtue, and what not?* —— *as if the Precept of* honoring Parents, *which is the* primum in promiſſione, *Epheſ.* 6. *were now* ſecundum in omiſſione, *after that againſt Images, which is uſually cancelled in the* Popiſh *Catechiſms.* —— *Againſt the* Cambr. 1617. ‖ Ch. 1. p. 58, 59. P. 60, 61, 62.

Emperors under the Old Teſtament there was no riſing up; —— *and as for the Emperors in the New Teſtament, tho as they were Heathen, they were neither by Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles obey'd, I hope, Sir, 'tis enough that they were not reſiſted.* —— *Kings, when tranſported by Error, they forſake their Duty, yet forfeit not their Supremacy;* —— *We yield no Abdication of our King, tho his Fault be Hereſie, remembring that,* Deus defendit oleum ſuum, *as* Optatus *ſays, and* Cæſar non definit eſſe Cæſar, *even in* Alto Gentiliſmo, *as our Saviour acknowledg'd of him,* Matt. 22. —— *So heinous is the Hereſie of Depoſing Magiſtrates for moral Miſdemeanours.* —— *A bad Head, I ſhould think, which the Body will be the better for the cutting off.* —— *No Iniquity can aboliſh Authority:* —— *And if it be objected, that Kings muſt be hamper'd with a coercive Power, or all muſt run to nothing, and the Church be clean extinguiſh'd:* —— *It is anſwered, The Church gains by Patience in Perſecution, therefore ſhe loſes by Reſiſtance and Oppoſition.*

Pag. 75.

Pag. 94. P. 137. 139.

SECT. VIII.

Among theſe domeſtick Champions of the King, and the Truth, it may not be amiſs to reckon an eminent Foreigner (if I may call *Iſaac Caſaubon* ſo, who lived ſome Years in this Kingdom, and dyed here, one of the Glories of his Age; before he came into *England*, he juſt after the Quarrel between the Pope and the Republick of *Venice*, printed a Diſcourſe, *De Libertate Eccleſiaſtica* (or rather but a part of a Diſcourſe); for whereas he promiſes Eleven Chapters, the firſt three are not entirely printed, the reſt being ſtopt at the Preſs by Order of the *French* King; tho as imperfect as the Book is, *Goldaſtus* hath thought it worth a place in his Collections) and in it he ſhews, that the true Church of God never uſurp'd the Rights of Kings, * while the Popes ſpoil Kings of their Liberty and their Majeſty too; 'for under them it ſometimes happens, that Kings may be ſafe, but they can never be ſecure; for 'they ſo value this Liberty, that to defend it they tumble all things 'upſide down, mingle Heaven and Earth, things ſacred and profane: —— And whereas our holy Maſter's Precepts ought not to 'be contradicted, ſince he hath joyned his Example to his Commands, and recommended to us the Love of our Enemies, Subjection to the Powers ordained of God, and Obedience to them 'for Conſcience ſake; they to build up, and to confirm this Liberty (unknown to the Primitive times) do every where inkindle Wars, become a Terror to Kings and Princes, diſpenſe with 'their

An. 1607.

*Ad Lect. p. 6.

Pag. 12. 13.

'their Subjects Allegiance, and arm them againſt their own So-
'vereigns, and pretend, that to violate all Laws divine and human,
'is a holy undertaking, and moſt acceptable unto God. —— As if by
'an ill management of ſupreme Authority, the Authority were
'forfeited. —— And if once Princes ſhall ſuffer the Foundations of Pag. 17.
'their Government to be ſhaken in the minds of their Subjects,
'their Government and Empire muſt of neceſſity reel and totter,
'and fall into the duſt. —— God commands all orders of Men *to* Pag. 69.
'*render to* Ceſar *the things that are* Ceſar's; and, *let every ſoul be*
'*ſubject to the higher powers, &c.* therefore *Gregory Nazianzen* ſays,
'that the Civil Magiſtrate doth reign together with Chriſt; nor does
'it make any difference, that ſome Kings arrive to the Throne by
'hereditary Succeſſion, others by Election, a third ſort by Con-
'queſt; for tho God in the eſtabliſhment of a King (as in the
'Ordination of a Prieſt) uſes the Miniſtry of men; yet it is impi-
'ous, not to acknowledg, that the Dominion and Power is receiv-
'ed originally from God: By God Kings reign, as the holy Scrip-
'tures in almoſt infinite places do teſtifie. ——— The Primitive P. 102,
'Chriſtians did ſo uſe the World, as thoſe that uſed it not, as 103.
'S. *Paul* adviſes; for while their Zeal for Piety was flagrant,
'while the Innocency of their Manners, their mutual Love and
'Affection, their unfeigned Humility, their conſtant Meditation
'on the Joys of Heaven, their Fidelity and Obedience to their
'Princes, as far as their Conſcience would give them leave, laſtly,
'their incomparable Conſtancy, in ſuffering all manner of Tor-
'ments for the true Religion, made them every day a Spectacle
'to the whole World, they raviſh'd their very Enemies to admire
'them and their Virtues; theſe were the beginnings of Chriſtiani-
'ty; this the infant Age of the Church, whom Tortures made happy, Infamy glorious, the Contempt of Gold rich, and the Crown
'(not of a Kingdom, but) Martyrdom made auguſt.

And as Truth is the ſame in all Climates, ſo was this learned Man, in whatſoever place Providence fixt, for, when he came into *England*, he had the ſame Notions, as fully appears by his Epiſtle to *Fronto Ducæus*, written *Ann.* 1611. wherein, diſcourſing of S. *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Obſervation of old, *that Mens prepoſterous Zeal had deſtroy'd their Charity*; he adds, *But Good God! Had the* Pag. 82
Father lived in our Age, what Complaints would he have made? To ſee Lond.
ſo many Men, acted by a prepoſterous Zeal, under the pretext of Religion 1611.
and Piety, moſt wickedly, and irreligiouſly, not only break the Peace of the Church about Trifles; but undertake Rebellions, Treaſons, moſt
cruel

cruel Maſſacres of innocent People, overthrowing of lawful Governments, and the Murther of Princes: ——*this is your privilege at this time of day,* (*as he addreſſes himſelf to the* Roman Catholicks) *that not only the grave Citizens and Senators of a Nation aſſembled in a general Convention (tho what they ſhould do of this kind is unlawful), but even the* Mobile *aſſume to themſelves a Power of Abdicating Kings, forfeiting their Kingdoms, and giving them to whom they pleaſe, and of aboliſhing all Laws under the pretext of Piety; which Villany no Religion (tho never ſo profane and impious) except yours (meaning the Popiſh) ever*
P. 100, &c. *allows, or hath ever formerly allowed.* Garnet's *chief Crime was, that he had either forgotten or neglected S.* Paul's *Advice, conſenting to the doing of evil, that good might come thereof;* ——*this he ought not to have done, had he demonſtrated himſelf a true follower of* Jeſus Chriſt; *for what Precept or Example had he of our holy Saviour for his ſo doing? Who was a Lamb without blemiſh,* —— *and reprov'd the prepoſterous Zeal of* James *and* John, *the Apoſtles with,* You know not what ſpirit you are of, i. e. *You think your Zeal is commendable, which hates the* Samaritans, *and would deſtroy them; but I do not require ſuch a cruel, ſanguinary, and deſtructive Zeal from my Followers; what I require is Charity, that is Patient, Edifying, and which covers a multitude of Sins; this I approve of, and this I would have practiſed by thoſe, to whom I am to leave my Peace:* ——*This he would not have done, had he remembred, how ſeverely our holy Saviour chaſtiſed* Peter, *when he raſhly*
P. 104, 105. *cut off* Malchus's *Ear.* —— *But Zealots are very ſeldom removed from their purpoſes by any conſideration of Laws, either divine or humane; whatever School teaches this Doctrine is not Chriſtian, it is the School of Antichriſt, and of Satan, for* the Devil was a Murderer from the beginning, *a true* Abeddon *and* Apollyon; *but the Doctrine of our holy Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt *is perfectly contrary to this; for he preſcribed no other remedy to his Diſciples againſt all manner of Injuries, but Flight, Patience, and Prayers; that* rejoycing in hope, being patient in Tribulation, and praying continually, *as the Apoſtle adviſes, they might triumph over all their Adverſaries: Theſe were the only Arms that the Apoſtles uſed, wherever they laid the foundations of the Goſpel; theſe were the only Weapons which the Fathers of the ancient Church only knew; no man took Arms, or raiſed Rebellion againſt his Prince; theſe were the fruits of the* Hildebrandine *Doctrine, which flyes at the Crowns of Emperors, Kings, and Princes,* &c.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Againſt this modeſt and learned Epiſtle of *Iſaac Caſaubon* did *Eudæmon Johannes* write, which Dr. *Prideaux* * (afterward the King's Profeſſor of Divinity, and Biſhop of *Worceſter*) anſwered, in which he compares the *Jeſuits*, and *Buchanan*, and *Knox* together, branding them juſtly with the name of *Traytors*, as King *James* had done before him; and avers, that the Popiſh Writers bred in the School of *Hildebrand*, call a lawful King a *Tyrant*, if excommunicated by the Pope; whereas, 'a Tyrant, according to the 'Doctrine of the *Sorbon*, and of the Men of ancient ſincerity and 'ſimplicity, is oppoſed to a lawful Prince, and ſignifies one who 'hath invaded an Empire that is not his own, by Force and evil 'Arts; —— and then adds, If an Apoſtate ſhould reign in *France*, or '*England*, who exceeded *Julian*, or the *Grand Signior*, it is not the 'duty of his Subjects to dethrone him: —— For, *who can lift up his 'hand againſt the Lord's anointed, and be innocent?* Did the *Iſraelites* 'attempt any thing againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, or the Chriſtians 'againſt *Julian*, and the Heathen Emperors? Did they uſe any other 'Weapons beſides their Prayers and their Tears? —— Let us uſe 'theſe Arms, and if the King do amiſs, let us expect when God 'will puniſh him, let not his Subjects tumultuouſly oppoſe him: 'And whereas *Mariana* had affirmed, that *when Princes openly invade 'the Rights of their Subjects, and there is no other way left to maintain 'the publick Safety*, then *it is lawful to take Arms, and murder Kings*; 'he replies, here is no mention made of the Patience of the Subjects, the juſt Judgments of God, the Obligation of Oaths, the 'ſacred Authority of Princes conferr'd on them immediately by 'God, the Duty of Subjection, not only when we live eaſie under 'the Government for our Profit, but when we ſuffer under it for 'Conſcience ſake; —— by the Maxims of the *Jeſuits*, the People 'are made the King's Judges, to enquire into his Faults, and to 'puniſh him, as they think fit, when he does amiſs: —— What difference is there, if this be true, between the Rights of Princes and 'their Subjects? —— A Subject breaks the Laws, and he is puniſh'd 'by the King; the King violates his Promiſes, and his Subjects tell 'him, *We will not have this Man longer to rule over us:* Admirable 'ſecurity of the Perſons and Crowns of Princes! We obey our 'Princes for *Conſcience ſake*, we believe them to be immediately 'conſtituted by God; if they rule well, they are God's greateſt Bleſſing;

* Pr. at *Oxford*, 1614. c. 2. p. 76.

P. 107.

P. 109.

P. 123.

P. 130, 131.

P. 60.

'ſing; if they degenerate into Apoſtaſie or Tyranny, they are
* *Rom.* 13. and in 1 *Pet.* 2. 'God's Scourges to puniſh the Sins of a People; as * *Calvin* ſays truly;
'*If a King abuſe his Power, he ſhall render an account to God in time,*
'*but for the preſent he doth not loſe his Authority.* —— We urge not
'Compact, but we pour out our Prayers; our Biſhops do adviſe,
'not threaten.

† *Id.* Serm. on *Gowry's* Conſpir. p. 4, 6, 7. † The ſame learned Biſhop, in his Sermon on the 5th. of *Auguſt*, at S. *Maries*, before the Univerſity, preaches the ſame Doctrine: 'When occaſion is offer'd (howſoever they otherwiſe ſtrive to ap-
'pear good Subjects) Traytors will be ever ready to vent their
'Treaſons. —— Hypocritical Traytors watch their times, and are
'ready to vent their Villany upon the leaſt advantage. —— In the
'2 *Kings* 19. 37. (where we read, that *Adrammelech* and *Sharezer*
'ſlew their *Father* at his Devotions) inſtead of the word בניו *his*
'*Sons* in the Original, we find the Vowels ſet in the Text (which is
'ſomewhat ſtrange in that tongue) without their Conſonants; per-
☞ 'haps to intimate cloſely, that ſo many Circumſtances, concurring
'otherwiſe for the aggravation of the offence, as Subjects to lay
'violent hands on a King, and that in the Temple, and that at
'his Devotions; to add further, that it was done by his own Sons,
'however it be more vocal than the Blood of *Abel*, yet the man-
'ner of ſetting it down ſhould ſhew it alſo to be *ſcelus infandum*,
'a Wickedneſs too monſtruous to be fully expreſs'd. — Two Sons
'there were that *David* had, whom he eſpecially (as it were) doated
'upon, above the reſt of his Children, *Abſalom* and *Adonijah*, and
'both of theſe take their advantages (as far as in them lay) to tum-
'ble their aged Father down from his Throne, and bury him alive,
'to make way for their prodigious and prepoſterous Purpoſes: the
'former by the Peoples favor, which he had gotten by his *Hypocri-*
'*tical Popularity*; the latter by his Fathers *Feebleneſs*, backing himſelf
'by the countenance of wicked *Joab* and diſloyal *Abiathar*; this
'hard meaſure received good King *David*, at the hands of thoſe of
'whom he beſt deſerved: He ſaw the Law of Nature violated,
'Conſcience (of ſo heinous a Fact) contemn'd, his Indulgence
'repaid with monſtrous Ingratitude, his try'd Valour outbrav'd by
Pag. 8. 'his own Subjects. — But the Judg of all the World is not ſubject
'to like Paſſions with us; none ſhall touch his Anointed for evil,
P. 10. 'but evil ſhall hunt thoſe wicked Perſons to deſtroy them. — *Go-*
'*doliah* was too confident on his own Innocency, and the Loyal-
'ty of thoſe that ſpake him fair; ——— but the event proved it
'too true; for his ſecurity gave the advantage, which the Traytor
'taking

'taking, performed that moſt wicked Deſign, which made all the
'miſerable remnant of *Iſrael* to ſmart for it.——— They who P. 11, 12.
'hold ſuch Grounds in their Schools, that the Pope may make void
'the Oath of Allegiance, that Subjects have taken to their lawful
'Princes, that upon a pretence they are faln from the Church,
'and turn'd Hereticks, he may depoſe them;—— and that being
'ſo depoſed, they may be lawfully murthered by their Subjects:
'What hope may remain, that ſuch, ſo bred, ſo taught, ſo be-
'lieving, will ever prove loyal?——A Traytor is a man of *Belial*, P. 16, 18.
'who to the diſgrace of himſelf and his whole Family impiouſly
'conceivs, and rebelliouſly vents his Hatred and Diſloyalty againſt
'his lawful Sovereign.——Treaſon is of a deeper tincture (than
'other Sins) deſerving a heavier doom, and therrfore of all true
'Chriſtians the more earneſtly to be deteſted.——Had theſe Men P. 22, 23.
'remembred what the wiſe King *Solomon* had left them for a better
'direction, *Prov.* 8. *By me Kings reign, &c.* —— they might have
'found, that the bond of Obedience to Princes is not ſo looſly
'knit by God, that Subjects may diſſolve it at their pleaſure, or
'upon any Diſcontent, or Injury, whatſoever cry, *we have no part*,
'and renounce our Inheritance; for as a Head never ſo rheuma-
'tick, and the fountain of all Diſeaſes in the reſt of the Members,
'may not be therefore parted from them for fear of a worſe incon-
'venience, neither can the Members upbraid it (as the Apoſtle, and
'Nature teach us) with theſe contemptuous Words, *I have no need of*
'*thee*: So the Head in the Body politick muſt keep his place howſo-
'ever, till that higheſt Authority take it off, who firſt ſet it on, to
'change it for a better; the more pernicious in reformed States
'and Commonwealths is the wicked band of Antichriſt, who take
'upon them to ſever thoſe whom God hath ſo linked together.
'What other concluſion do they drive at in all their Volumes
'againſt the King's Supremacy, and Subjects Oath of Allegiance,
'but to make their Followers conceit, that they have no part in
'King *James*.

SECT. X.

William Barclay, tho a *Romaniſt*, having written Six Books againſt the Enemies of Monarchy, *Buchanan*, *Junius Brutus*, *Boucher*, and others, Cardinal *Bellarmine* thought himſelf ſo nearly concerned in the Controverſie, as to write an Anſwer to the learned *Scotchman*, *Barclay* being dead, Dr. *Buckeridge*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter* under-

Lond. 1614. took the Papal Champion, and in Two Books fully handles the Power of the Pope, in deposing Kings; and having asserted, * 'That 'Authority and Obedience are Relatives, grounded on the Com- 'mandment of *Honouring our Parents*, and † that all the Ancients 'were of this opinion, that Kings were inferior only to God, and 'superior to all other Persons, and therefore could be deposed only 'by God, (because Inferiors have no Authority over their Superiors) 'and that their Misdemeanours are not punishable by their Subjects, 'since they have no Judg but God alone; he cites S. ‖ *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 1. 'that there is *no power but of God*, and that this is a general Sentence, 'and that therefore the Power of Kings is from God, and not from 'the People: —— *He that resists, resists the ordinance of God*; this also 'is a general Sentence, and binds all Traytors and Parricides, who 'conspire against the Lord's Anointed, who raise Seditions and Tu- 'mults, take Arms, and muster Forces against Kings, tho they be 'excommunicated and deposed. And when *Bellarmine* had objected, 'that the Power of Kings is not immediately from God; because Men by a certain natural instinct choose themselves Magistrates, by whom they are governed: He proves at large, that tho 'the form of Government (*i. e.* whether it be a Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy) be from Men, yet the Power is alone, 'and immediately from God. —— Every King sits on his Throne 'as a God (*I have said, ye are gods*) but can the People choose and 'constitute a Deputy in God's stead? Can they erect God's Throne, 'and communicate his Power to Men without his consent? Power 'therefore is immediately from God, altho it be given to this or 'that particular Person by the mediation of the People. —— Paternal and regal Power are the same in essence, tho they differ in 'extent; what a Father is in one Family, that a is King in many Families; what then? Did the Power of *Adam* over his Sons and 'Nephews, and all mankind, depend on their consent, or did it 'flow from God and Nature? —— And are hereditary Princes, 'who are not made, but born so, made Kings by the consent of 'the People, when in the same instant, in which the Father dyes, 'the Son is King? —— If the Power of Kings be not instituted by 'men without God, neither can it be destroyed by men without 'God: Grant we the Proposition true, that God doth give Kingdoms to the Subjects with the consent of their Subjects: for God 'can confer and transfer Kingdoms by Men and without them, by 'second Causes and without them; but because God doth this sometimes by the consent of the People, as he transferr'd the Kingdom 'of

* Lib. 1. c. 1. p. 11.
† C. p. 8. p. 100, &c.
‖ Lib. 2. c. 3. p. 217.
Lib. 2. c. 6. p. 281.
P. 282.
P. 289.
P. 290.

'of *Saul* to *David*, and the Kingdom of *Joram* to *Jehu*, and ſometimes doth it without the Peoples conſent, as he transferr'd the 'Kingdom of the *Canaanites* to the *Jews*, that of the *Medes* to *Cyrus*, 'that of the *Perſians* to *Alexander*, and of many other Kingdoms, 'to the *Romans*; will it therefore follow, that it is lawful for the 'People, without God, without any expreſs relation of his Will, 'to dethrone their Kings, and take from them their Authority? ☞ 'If God and the People make Kings, then the People without God, 'and without an expreſs revelation of his Will cannot depoſe their 'Kings;—God is the chief and principal Agent, the People are 'only God's Inſtrument; as therefore the Inſtrument doth nothing 'without the Artificer, ſo whither can the People do any thing in 'this caſe without God.—After this he proves, that both the *Jews* Lib 2. 'and Chriſtians did bear with, as their Duty obliged them, idolatrous cap. 20. 'and tyrannical Kings; and then adds, to this practice of the Church, pag. 614, 'and of all Antiquity, the beſt Interpreter of Scriptures, I will ſub- 615. 'join the Inſtitution of Kings, *All power is of God, it is his Ordi-* 'nance, and whoſo *reſiſts it, reſiſts the Ordinance of God:* From the 'ſame God had *David* and *Samuel*, *Solomon* and *Jeroboam*, *Hezekiah* and *Ahab*, *Manaſſes* and *Joſiah*, *Nero* and *Conſtantine*, *Julian* 'and *Theodoſius*, their Authority; of good Kings it is ſaid, *By me* 'Kings reign: Of evil Kings, *I have given them a King in my wrath:* 'Good Kings are given in mercy; evill Kings in fury; but all 'are given by God, therefore all muſt be obey'd, altho not in all 'things; we muſt not reſiſt any, but muſt either do that which the 'King commands juſtly, or ſuffer what he cruelly inflicts: For the 'Obedience of Subjects falls under the divine Precept, natural or 'moral, in the Fifth Commandment, which is alſo confirm'd by 'Chriſt in the Goſpel, by his Precept, *Give to* Ceſar *the things that* 'are Ceſar's; and by his Example, who paid Tribute, and ſuffer'd 'a moſt ſhameful Death under *Pilate*, who rather forfeited his Life, 'than he would forfeit his Obedience; and by his Apoſtles, *Let every* 'ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers, to Heathens, and infidel Per- 'ſecutors, who endeavour'd to draw their Subjects over to their 'Infidelity: Such a one was *Nero*, ſuch were the reſt of the Perſe- 'cutors; and yet theſe were to be ſubmitted to, *not only for Wrath,* 'but alſo for Conſcience ſake.

'*Fear God, honour the King*; and of this Honour the chiefeſt part 'is Obedience. Theſe divine Precepts, natural, moral, evangelical, 'are indiſpenſable, and bind the Conſcience; nor is it likely, that 'God, and Chriſt, and the Apoſtles would have deliver'd ſuch Pre-

'cepts, as they would not have to be obſerv'd by Chriſtians.—If 'thy King be good, he is thy nurſing Father; if he be evil, he 'tryes thee; if he be a Perſecutor, he exerciſes thee; if he be godly, 'he is exerciſed with thee: What can a Chriſtian Soul here con-'temn? Will it contemn its nurſing Father, who affords it Neceſ-'ſaries, that it may be brought to Heaven? Or will it contemn him 'who tryes it, who exerciſes it under the Croſs, that it may ſhine 'glorioufly in the Kingdom of Heaven?

'——The Enemies to this Doctrine, are 1. the *Anabaptiſts* and *Li-'bertines*, who diſown all Magiſtracy, and throw off its Yoak; and 'of *Stephen* of *Halleſtat* who would have none but good Magiſtrates 'obey'd. 2. All Seditions, Tumults, Wars, *&c.* by means of which, 'the Chriſtian Religion is evil ſpoken of among the Heathen, as if 'it were a traiterous Religion, and an Enemy to Kings, the Name 'of God is blaſphemed, and the Enemies of the Goſpel encouraged 'to perſecute the Church.

Lib. 2. cap. 38. p. 919.

'As to the inſtance of *Athalia*, he avers, that ſhe was Queen on-'ly *de facto*, and not *de jure*, having cruelly againſt Nature ſlain 'the Sons of *Ahaziah* her Son, being incited by Ambition, that ſhe 'got the Kingdom by Tyranny, without any Right or Title, that 'ſhe kept it by Force and Arms, that ſhe was not a lawful Queen, 'but a moſt wicked Uſurper.—There is a vaſt difference between 'a Tyrant that hath a juſt Title to his Crown, and a Tyrant who ☞ 'hath no Right, who hath uſurp'd a Kingdom by force; if a lawful 'King turn Tyrant, neither his Biſhops, nor his Nobles, nor his Peo-'ple, can compel him to rule according to Law; God only can re-'ſtrain him, who gives ſuch a King in his fury, and for the Sins of a 'Nation cauſes a Hypocrite to reign over them; for ſuch a Tyrant, 'having a juſt Title to his Throne, is ordained by God, and he that re-'ſiſts him, reſiſts the Ordinance of God; but if any Man uſurp a King-'dom by Force and Tyranny, he is not a King, but an Enemy, and 'it is lawful for any man to reſiſt him, as he would do an Enemy.

Annals of Q. *Mary*, pag. 266, 267.

Francis Godwin, Biſhop of *Hereford*, publiſh'd his *Annals*, *An.* 1616. and therein treating of the Lady *Jane*'s aſſuming the Crown (which he truly ſays, *ſhe was forc'd by her Parents, and Friends Ambition*, to accept, and which ſhe received with Tears, but reſigned with Joy) and the march of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Army againſt Queen *Mary*, to whom the *Londoners*, when they march'd through the City, 'did not wiſh ſucceſs, he obſerves the *Londoners* ſtood 'very well affected in Point of Religion, ſo did alſo for the moſt 'part the *Suffolk* and the *Norfolk* Men, and they knew *Mary* to be ☞ 'abſolute for Popery; but the *Engliſh* are in their due reſpects to their

'Prince

'Prince ſo loyally conſtant, that no regards, no not pretext of Religion can alienate their Affections from their lawful Sovereign, whereof the miſerable Caſe of the Lady *Jane* will anon give a memorable Example; for although her Faction had laid a ſtrong foundation, and had moſt artificially raiſed their Superſtructure, yet as ſoon as the true and undoubted Heir did but manifeſt her Reſolution to vindicate her Right, this accurate Pile preſently fell and diſſolved, as it were in the twinkling of an Eye, and that chiefly by their endeavour, of whom for their Religion the Lady *Jane* might have preſumed herſelf aſſured:——And the learned and godly Prelate *Ridley* (who, I wiſh, had not err'd in this matter) when he preach'd up the Lady *Jane*'s Title, was ſcarce heard out with patience by thoſe, who were his particular Charge. ——And as the Earl of *Arundel* ſaid, the Friends of *Northumberland* had no regard to the Apoſtolical Rules, *That Evil muſt not be done, that good may come thereof*; and *that we muſt obey even evil Princes, not for Fear, but for Conſcience.*

P. 270.

SECT. XI.

Anno 1610. Dr. *David Owen* (the only Batchelour of Divinity) publiſh'd at *Cambridge* a little Treatiſe, called, *Herod*, and *Pilate reconciled, to ſhew the Concord of Papiſt and Puritan (againſt Scripture, Fathers, Councils,* and *other Orthodoxal Writers) for the Coercion, depoſition, and killing of Kings*; and the Title is a ſufficient declaration what the Author's judgment was (the Book it ſelf being in many places, both as to Argument and Style, very agreeable to the Treatiſe, called *Deus & Rex*, ſet forth by the King's Order) he proves in the Firſt Chapter, that Kings are not puniſhable by man, but reſerv'd to the Judgment of God, by the Teſtimony of the Holy Scriptures; and in the ſubſequent Chapters he proves the ſame by the Teſtimony of the Fathers, and other ancient Writers; and he briefly gives his Opinion, * *Chap.* 4. but very fully: 'Be the King 'for his Religion impious, for his Government unjuſt, for his Life 'licentious, the Subject muſt endure him, the Biſhop muſt reprove 'him, the Counſellor muſt adviſe him, all muſt pray for him, and 'no mortal man hath Authority to diſturb or diſplace him.

* P. 24.

The ſame Author, *Ann.* 1622. printed at *Cambridg* his *Anti-Paræus*, in confutation of † *David Paræus*'s Book (*De Jure Regum & Principum contra Bellarminum, Becanum, &c.*) who diſallowing the Pope's Claim, inveſted the Power over Princes in the People;

† *Amberg*æ, 1612.

in

In the Preface of this Book, the Dr. shews the consonancy, and agreeableness of the *Popish* and *Disciplinarian* Principles, and in the Book refutes from the dictates of nature, the laws of Nations, Civil and Canon, Scriptures, Fathers, *and most eminent Reformed Divines, that the Power and Jurisdiction of Kings is not founded in compact (as if the Majesty of Princes were derived from the People, and limited by them) but that, as God is the Supreme Lord of all, who judges all his Creatures, and is judged of none; so Kings and Princes, who judge and punish others, can be judg'd and punish'd by no one, save God alone, to whose only power they are subject; this* David *understanding, though guilty of Adultery and Murder, implores the divine mercy,* against thee only have I sinned; *for I acknowledg no other Superior on Earth, but thee, who can call me to account, give sentence against me or punish me for my sin. ——— the reason is, the King is the head of the body politick, but the members ought not to judge the head, because they are subject, nor to cut it off, for then they cease to be members; and this the Heathen Poet knew, and averred, that Kings have a power over their several Subjects, but God only hath an Empire, and Authority over Kings.*

Thes. 1. p. 3, &c.

P. 16, 17.

Nor will the publick safety and tranquillity be maintain'd without such an unaccountable power in Kings; for the Monarch, who is opposed by his rebellious Subjects, although they are much too strong for him, will call to his assistance all his neighbouring Kings, and Confederates, will list Foreign Forces to vindicate himself, and the miseries of such a War will be a poor comfort to such an infatuated Nation. ——— but suppose there were such a power in the People to call their Kings to account, which we ought not to grant, Nero *perish'd, but the case of* Rome *was not better'd by it; for in the next year after his death it felt more calamities, and was imbrued in more blood, than in the whole nine years of* Nero's *Tyranny. ——— Rome, when she cast off her Kings, did not abrogate, but change the Tyranny, and* Athens *drove out one Tyrant, and brought in thirty. ——— I do confidently assert, that all Tyranny, whether it uses violence against God or Man, ought to be suffer'd; ought not to be abrogated, till he puts an end to it, who alone girds and ungirds the loins of Kings.* Solomon *was guilty of Polygamy and Idolatry, but lost not his Crown and Dignity:* Ahab *slew* Naboth *Tyrannically, Banished, and put to death the Prophets, persecuted the true Religion, and established the Worship of* Baal *by his Authority, but neither the inferior Magistrate, nor the People presumed to resist his Tyranny; it is true* Jehu *did so, but it was not by any power, that the Laws gave him, but by an extraordinary Commission from Heaven; and that which could not then*

P. 18.

p. 19.

p. 20.

be

be done without an Oracle from Heaven, cannot now be done without the contempt of God's Majesty, the contumely of Kingly Power, and the ruin of the Commonwealth. Christ, who lived under the Empire of Tiberius, *the Authority of* Herod, *and Government of* Pilate; *the Apostles, who flouriſh'd under* Caligula, Claudius, Nero, *and* Domitian; *the Primitive Chriſtians, who lived under Perſecutors for three hundred years;* Liberius, Hoſius, Athanaſius, Nazianzen, *and many other Fathers, who for a thouſand years after the Birth of Christ, watered the Church with their holy Lives, and ſound Doctrine, were all ignorant of this Myſtery, (that Princes may be reſiſted by their Subjects) if they are* bleſſed, who ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake, *then they undoubtedly ſhall not be bleſſed, who refuſe to ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake; for in that they will not ſuffer, but riſe againſt their Perſecutors, they are convinc'd of ſin, and acquire to themſelves damnation. But are not Princes under the power of the Law? Yes, under the directive, not under the compulſive power of the Law. ——— but have not Princes given their Subjects many, and muſt they be ſuffered to invade them? it is very hard that Princes own voluntary conceſſions, ſhould be made uſe of to their detriment, to encourage their Subjects to Rebellion and Parricide; but whatever Princes do, as the Laws are derived from them, and they are the interpreters of them, ſo, though they voluntarily ſubmit to their direction, they cannot be compell'd ſo to do; the conceſſions of a Prince to his Subjects, do not give them a right to call him to account. Tyrants (who are in poſſeſſion of lawful power over us, we are commanded to obey, forbidden to reſiſt; for in the Holy Scripture we find no diſtinction between a good Prince, and an evil Tyrant, as to the honour, reverence, and obedience, that is due to them; it is not lawful therefore to draw the Sword againſt them, becauſe they that reſiſt, reſiſt God, and* ſhall receive to themſelves damnation; *but no law of God, or Man hath ſet over us private Tyrants, Uſurpers, or Domeſtick Thieves, we are under no obligations to them, we owe them no obedience, nor are we any way, either out of reverence to their power, or neceſſity of ſubmiſſion, but that we may repel force by force, ——— one Apoſtle forbids all reſiſtance, another commands obedience to Superiors, neither of them make any diſtinction between good and bad, and they ſpeak to all Inferiors indifferently, to Lay and Clergy, to Men of all Orders, Degrees, and Dignities; that Man therefore diſtinguiſhes ill, where the Law of God admits of no diſtinction, ——— in ſuch a caſe God allows us flight, and patience, and prayers, and tears; Chriſt provided for his own ſafety by flight; the Martyrs by patience offered their Souls to God, and the prayers of the Church have always prevailed over its Tyrannical Perſecutors.*

p. 22.

p. 25.

P. 41.

P. 43.

P. 55.

P. 65.

P. 80.

Sect.

SECT. XII.

Anno 1613. Dr. *John Downham's ſum of Sacred Divinity* was publiſh'd, in * which ſtarting the uſual objection, 'what muſt be done, 'if Princes command things unlawful, ſuch as with a good con- 'ſcience we cannot yield unto? he anſwers, in ſuch caſes we are 'patiently to abide the puniſhment; in which doing we no way 'violate the obedience due to them, as the Apoſtle directs. 1 *Pet.* 2. 19, 20.

Commen. on the 5th. Command. P. 177.

Anno 1614. *Lancelot Dawes*, ſometime Fellow of *Queens College*, Preach'd two Sermons at the Aſſizes held at *Carlile*, the ſecond of which had for its ſubject *Pſalm.* 82. 6, 7. *I have ſaid*, ye are Gods *&c.* and in it we are informed, 'that Princes have their Autho- 'rity only from God; *for* ‖ *if every good, and perfect Gift be from* 'above, even from the Father of Lights, much more this excellent 'and ſupereminent gift of governing God's People muſt proceed 'from the fountain; ——— the reaſon of all the ſins that were 'committed in *Iſrael*, is often in the Book of *Judges* aſcribed un- 'to this, that they wanted a Magiſtrate: *there was at that time no* 'King in Iſrael, —— by me Kings reign, *&c.* —— it is not for 'a Magiſtrate to debaſe himſelf, neither is it for others of what 'reputation ſoever, to equalize themſelves with the Judge, whom 'God hath placed over them —— and this is not only meant of 'Godly and Religious Magiſtrates, but of Wicked and Ungodly 'Governors too, ſuch as are deſcribed by *Samuel, which take Mens* 'Sons —— *and Fields, and Vineyards*, &c. the reaſon is, becauſe 'the bad, as well as the good are of God, the one he gives in his 'love, the other in his anger, —— and be they good or bad, we 'have no commandment from him, but *parendi & patiendi*, of 'obeying them, when their Precepts are not repugnant to God's 'Statutes, and of ſuffering with patience whatſoever they ſhall lay 'upon us; it was a worthy ſaying of the Mother of the two *Garaes*, 'when they kept *Sigiſmond* in Priſon, *that a Crowned King, if he* 'were worſe than a beaſt, could not be hurt without great injury done 'to God himſelf'; a leſſon, which ſhe learn'd from *David*, whoſe 'heart ſmote him, when he had *cut the lap of* Saul's *garment*, be- 'cauſe he was the Anointed of the Lord; altho he himſelf was 'before that time Anointed to be King over *Iſrael*, and was with- 'out cauſe hunted by *Saul* like a *Pelican in the wilderneſs*, and *an* 'Owl in the deſert.

Printed at *Oxford.* 1614. P. 86.

‖ *Ja.* 1. 17.

Judg. 17. 6, 18. &c. P. 99.

P. 100, 101.

1 *Sam.* 8.

Bontin. rer. Hung. dec. 3. *l.* 2.

'Then

'Then to draw thy ſword, and to ſeek perforce to depoſe ſuch 'as God hath placed over thee, either becauſe they are not ſuitable 'to thy affections, or not faithful in their places, what is it, but with 'the old Gyants to fight with God—the weapons of a Chriſtian in 'this caſe (when ſuch a caſe doth happen) muſt be *preces & lacrymæ, prayers*, that either God would turn the heart of an evil 'Magiſtrate, or ſet in his room a Man *David* like after his own 'heart; and *tears* for his ſins, which as they are the cauſe of War, 'Famine, Peſtilence; and all other calamities, ſo are they alſo of 'Wicked and Ungodly Magiſtrates. P. 102.

SECT. XIII.

To what hath been cited out of Dr. *Bois* in the firſt part of this Hiſtory may be added; In Holy Bible we read, 'that *David* would 'not ſuffer his Enemy *Saul*, tho a wicked King, to be ſlain, when 'he was in his hands, for that he was the *Lord's Anointed*; he had 'ſanctitatem unctionis, albeit he had not *ſanctitatem Vitæ*. i. e. he had 'an holy calling, tho not an holy carriage, wherefore *David* ſaid, '*who can lay hands on the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltleſs*; and if 'Heathen Emperors in the Primitive times, and ungodly Kings in 'all Ages ought to be thus obeyed, how much more a Chriſtian, and 'Virtuous Prince? *&c.* Bois on *Pſ.* 47. P. 936.

After the death of *Robert Abbot* Biſhop of *Salisbury* were his Academick exercitations againſt *Bellarmine*, and *Suarez concerning the ſupreme power of Kings* printed, *a work* [*as it is called in the Epiſtle dedicatory*] *agreeable to the Laws of Nature and Religion, and very ſeaſonable*; the Author of which having been the King's Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*, * vindicates the power of Kings, and affirms, '*that Pope *Hildebrand* (*Hellbrand Luther* calls him) that the firſt, 'who aſſumed to himſelf the Power of Depoſing Princes, and abſolving their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, which Doctrine *Sigebert* a Writer of that Age calls *Novelty* and *Hereſie*; and 'when he treats of *Rom.* 13. 1. *be ſubject to the higher powers*, &c. 'he ſays, by Powers are meant Kings, and Monarchs, as the Word 'is uſed *Luc.* 22. οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες, *they that exerciſe authority*, &c. in 'which words Kings by a certain circumſcription are defined, becauſe power belongs only and properly to them; thus *Origen*, *Ambroſe*, and *Aquinas* underſtood the words; and Kings are not only 'called powers, but alſo ὑπερέχοντες in St. *Peter* 1. ep. 2. *ſupereminent* 'powers, becauſe in their Kingdoms they have power over all Per- *Lon.* 1619. *Prelec. 1. Sect. 4. p. 4 Sect. 5. p. 6, 7.

'ſons, being conſtituted the ſupreme, and over all, and to whom
'it is given to exerciſe that power over all. —— for Kingly Ma-
'jeſty is abſolutely eminent, and above all, being ſo conſtituted by
*in *Rom.* 13. 'a ſupreme right, for as *St. *Ambroſe* ſays, *it hath the Image of God,*
'*that all others might be under one, to whom, becauſe he is God's Vice-*
'*gerent, every Soul ought to be ſubject, as unto God.* This Sentence of
☞ 'St. *Ambroſe* lays the unqueſtionable foundation of Kingly Power;
'for it expreſſes, that in the Power of a Monarch the Image of the
'Divine Majeſty appears, and that Kings exerciſe a Power over
'Men delegated unto them in God's ſtead, and therefore muſt be
'ſuperior to all Men, becauſe nothing can be higher than God,
'whoſe Deputies Kings are; this alſo is the Doctrine of *Optatus,*
P. 12. 'St. *John Chryſoſtom, Agapetus,* and other Fathers; and ſo deſtru-
☞ 'ctive have the *Romaniſts* thought it to their pretenſions, that the
'*Spaniſh Index Expurgatorius,* hath ordered this ſentence to be blotted
'out of *Antonius* his *Meliſſæ* (tho the ſentence be in two other Fa-
'thers, *viz. Agapetus,* and *Maximus*) *A King hath no ſuperior on*
'*Earth.* ——— and tho Kings may be made by Men, yet their
Prelec 2. Sect. 4. p. 19. 'Power is from God, by whoſe Providence and Conduct they are
'advanc'd to thoſe dignities by Men, and whom God, either in Mer-
'cy, or in anger decrees to rule, even that God, *who makes a Hy-*
Job 34. ‖Prelect. 3. Sect. 1. p. 25. '*pocrite to reign for the ſins of a people.* —— Now the Supremacy of
'Kings, and the ſubjection of every Soul to them are ſo joined,
'that the King cannot be ſaid to be ſupreme, unleſs every Soul be
'ſubject to him; nor will the duty of ſubjection agree to every Soul,
Sect. 3. p. 21. 'unleſs the King be inveſted with this Supremacy, —— for all
'Men (*univerſim omnes, & ſigillatim ſinguli*) whether ſingly, or
'contained in a body, are bound in conſcience by this Apoſtolical
'Precept, to pay the duties of ſubjection, and obſervance to Kings.
Sect. 5. p. 33. and whereas *Bellarmin* (as others) urged the depoſition of *Athaliah,*
to prove the lawfulneſs of Dethroning Princes, he anſwers, 'that
'*Athaliah* had no right to the Crown, that ſhe had the Kingdom
'by violence, that the true King lay hid, that by her Parricide and
'Treaſon ſhe had made herſelf guilty of death by the Law, and
Prelect. 4. Sect. 3. p. 44. p. 47. 'ought to have ſuffered; —— and that word ἐξουσία (*Power*) which
'St. *Paul* uſes, never ſignifies force and violence, but a juſt Power,
'which muſt be lawful, becauſe it is from Heaven, —— that Chriſt
'was ſubject by the law to the Power of *Pilate,* ——— and the
Prel. 5. Sect. 1. 2. p. 70, 71. 'Apoſtles to the Heathen Princes. —— and that in the Primitive
'Church, there were no Traytors, who either openly or privately
'contrived, or attempted any thing againſt the Life or Crown of
the

'the Emperor, when they wanted neither numbers nor force, but
'they durſt not turn Rebels or Traytors, leſt by breaking the
'command of Chriſt they ſhould loſe Heaven, and *Bellarmin* be-
'lies them, when he ſays, they wanted not a right, nor good will
'to depoſe Kings, but only forces ſufficient, —— it was of old their P. 73.
'Doctrine, that the Church ought not to rebel againſt Princes,
'and this the Goſpel taught them; let them therefore ſhew from
'the Goſpel, that it is lawful, for elſe let a Man pretend to Inſpi-
'ration, if he ſpeaks from himſelf, and not from the Goſpel, be-
'lieve him not, ſays St. *Chryſoſtom*; and having ſhewn from *David's* Prelect. 8.
'ſaying, *againſt thee only have I ſinned*, that Kings are accountable Sect. ult.
'only to God, he cloſes his Lecture with theſe words. —— a King p. 96.
'is under the coercion of no Laws, becauſe there is no power among
'Men on Earth, that can puniſh him, ſo that when Kings tranſgreſs,
'we muſt expect the judgments of God upon them.

SECT. XIV.

In the ſame year, Dr. *Lewis Bayly* Biſhop of *Bangor*, ſet forth *the Practice of Piety*, ‖ in the end of which he ſhews, that the Doctrine, *which St.* Paul *taught the Ancient Church of* Rome, *is diametrically oppoſite in* 26 *fundamental points of true Religion, to that, which the new Church of* Rome *teacheth and maintaineth; and the* 24*th is this, that every Soul muſt of conſcience be ſubject, and pay tribute to the Higher Powers, i.e. the Magiſtrates, which bear the Sword.* Rom. 13. 1, 2, &c. *and therefore the Pope, and all Prelates (and by parity of reaſon all other Subjects) muſt be ſubject to their Emperors, Kings, and Magiſtrates, unleſs they will bring damnation upon their Souls as Traytors, that reſiſt God and his Ordinance,* —— *and therefore let the* Jeſuits, P. 480.
&c. *take heed and fear, leſt it be not Faith, but Faction, not Truth, but Treaſon, not Religion, but Rebellion; which is the cauſe of their deaths.* —— *becauſe they cannot be ſuffered to perſuade Subjects to break their Oaths, and to withdraw their Allegiance from their Sovereign, to raiſe Rebellion, to move Invaſion, to ſtab and poyſon Queens, to kill and murder Kings*, &c. ‖ P. 479. edit. 1675.

Some years before this, Dr. *Richard Crackenthorp* Preach'd at *Pauls Croſs* viz. *Mar.* 24. 1608. and in his *Epiſtle Dedicatory* he affirms, pr. *Lond.* 1609.
'that his deſire therein was to teſtifie his unfeigned love, firſt to
'God's truth, and then to the Peace of our *Jeruſalem*, and in the Sermon he commends King *James's* Book, of *Free Monarchies*, but eſpecially his *Learned Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, and

proves, 'that as *Solomon* had his Kingdom neither from the Priest, 'nor the People, but immediatly from God —— so the Scriptures 'call Kings the Ministers, or Lieutenants of God, *Rom.* 13. —— 'and that all the Ancient Fathers did believe, that the Imperial 'Authority of Kings was immediatly, and only derived of God, 'immediatly depending of God, and of God alone. —— this was 'the judgment and just defence of all the Christians, and of the 'Church at that time. —— and to prove this to be agreeable to the 'Law, he cites a Statute made 16. *Ric.* 2. c. 5. of purpose to keep 'sacred and inviolable the Sovereignty, and regality of this King- 'dom; it was therein declared, that the Crown of *England* hath 'been so free at all times (not then only, but which is specially to 'be remembred at all times) that it hath been in subjection to no 'Realm, but *immediatly subject to God, and to none other*, in all things 'touching the regality of the same, —— in defence of which 'Statute they in the Parliament then Assembled promised to live 'and dye, as it is there noted; by all which it is evident, that this 'Doctrine, which is now at *Rome* counted most ridiculous, it in it 'self most sacred, as being grounded on the Scriptures of God, 'and as most sacred hath been embrac'd by all the Christians in 'the Primitive Church; taught, and maintained with a general 'consent by the Ancient and Godly Fathers in their several Ages, 'and Successions; constantly defended by whole Kingdoms and 'Empires, and that under pain of High Treason to the Gainsayers 'thereof, even in those latter times also, when superstition had di- 'min'd, but not quite extinguish'd, and put out the Truth —— 'that cannot possibly be true loyalty, or sincere obedience, which 'ever attending to an higher command, includes in it, as in a 'Trojan Horse, that condition of *rebus sic stantibus, durante beneplacito*, or the like —— out of which, if strength and opportu- 'nity might serve, —— they might let out whole Armies, and 'Troops of Armed Men, suddenly to surprize both Church and 'Kingdom, and much more to that purpose. To Dr. *Crackenthorp* 'it is requisite to join his Friend Dr. *Daniel Featly*, who in his P. 334 ed. Lon. 1675 '*Handmaid to devotion*, on the Feast of the *Fifth of November* gives 'all good Christians this useful *admonition*. All that fear God, ought 'to abhor, and detest all Traiterous and Bloody conspiracies against 'the Prince and State, because God strictly forbids, dreadfully 'threatens, miraculously discovers, and severely punishes all Trea- 'sons, and Conspiracies, as we see in *Corah*, *Absalom*, *Adonijah*, 'Zimri, the Servants of *Ammon*, *Sullam*, *Haman*, the servants of the

Noble-

Nobleman in the Parable, *Judas*: for God forbids conſpiracies, *Touch not mine Anointed*, &c.

SECT. XV.

The Famous *Peter du Moulin* the Father (the *Cicero* of the *French* Churches) was by King *James* made a Prebendary of the Church of *Canterbury*, and gave that Prince no reaſon to repent of his favors to him, vindicating on all occaſions both the intereſts of the Church, and the Perſon, Power, and Writings of the King; nor were his Books, and his Actions diſſonant one to the other, for he never ſided with, never encouraged the *Commonwealth of Rochel* (as it was called) and in his works Orthodoxly States the Catholick Doctrine of Government, and confutes the objections of its adverſaries; thus in his *Buckler of Faith*, &c.

Buckler of Faith. He lays down briefly, but fully, firſt the Opinion of the *Romaniſts*, and then the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches, as to the right of Kings, 'Thomas the chief Schoolman '(ſays he) avers, that the Power of Princes, and Sovereign Lords, 'is but a humane conſtitution, and proceedeth not from God; and 'with him agree *Bellarmin*, and *Arnoux*; their reaſons are. 1. That 'the firſt King, that was in the World, *Nimrod*, made himſelf 'King by force. 2. That the greateſt part of Empires were erected 'by Conqueſt. 3. That Kings are eſtabliſhed by humane means, 'whether they attain to the Crown by Hereditary Succeſſion, or 'by Election, ſince there is no rule in the Word of God, that bind-'eth to follow an Hereditary Succeſſion more than an Election. '4. That there is no expreſs command ſet down to obey *Henry*, or '*Lewis*, or to acknowledge this, or that Man more than another 'to be King. 5. That for theſe reaſons St. *Peter* calls the Obedience 'to Kings an *Humane Order*; while we on the contrary maintain, 'that Obedience due to Kings proceedeth from the Divine Law, 'and is grounded upon the Ordinance of God, and whom no Man 'may reſiſt without reſiſting God. *Rom.* 13. 1, 2. and St. *Peter* in the 'ſame place, which they object againſt us, will have us yield Obe-'dience to the King for *the Lord's ſake*; and altho *Nebuchadnezzar* 'was an ungodly King, a ſcourge uſed by God to deſtroy Nations, 'nevertheleſs God ſpeaks thus unto him by his Prophet (*Dan.* 2. 37.) '*Thou, O King, art a King of Kings*, &c. —— as to their reaſons. '1. It is falſe, that *Nimrod* was the firſt King in the World, for the 'Fathers, and Heads of Families were Kings, Prieſts, and Sove-

(*Lib.* 2. *Sect. ult. p.* 556, 557. *Lon.* 1623 *in Engl.*

reign

'reign Princes of their Families, Men living after the Flood Five 'or Six hundred Years, long enough to ſee a multitude of their own 'Children, over whom they were to exerciſe their paternal Power. '2. As to the eſtabliſhment of Government in Conqueſt, I ſay, that 'thoſe, whoſe Countries a ſtrange Prince ſeeketh to invade, do well 'to defend themſelves; and if in that defenſive War the Uſurper 'chance to be ſlain, he is juſtly puniſhed; but if he get the upper 'hand, if the Race of the Ancient Poſſeſſors of the ſame Coun-'try be clean extinguiſhed, if the States of the Country aſſembled 'together, do agree upon a new form of Government, and if all 'the Officers throughout the Country have taken their Oaths of 'Fidelity to the New King, then we muſt believe, that God hath 'eſtabliſhed ſuch a Prince in that Kingdom, then I ſay, that the 'People ought to yield to the will of God, who for the ſins of 'Kings, and of their People tranſpoſeth Kingdoms, and diſpoſeth 'of the Iſſues of Battels at his will and pleaſure; as to the third, it 'belongs not to the Queſtion, whether a King ſucceed by Inheri-'tance, or by Election, but whether by the Ordinance of God we 'ought to obey him, when he is eſtabliſhed therein? while our Ad-'verſaries will have the Power of *Popes* to proceed from the Ordi-'nance of God, tho they enter into the Papacy by Election, and 'too often by indirect means, &c. 4. Tho there be no command to 'obey *Henry*, or *Lewis*, it ſufficeth there is a commandment to obey 'the King, and to keep our Oaths of Fidelity made to the King, 'and by conſequence to be faithful to that King, to whom we ſwear 'Obedience and Loyalty; [nay by this argument no King of this age were to be obeyed, becauſe we do not find his name expreſly ſet down in Holy Writ] 'nay no Man were bound to fear God, 'or to believe in Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe the Scripture doth not par-'ticularly ordain, that *Thomas*, *Anthony*, or *William* ſhould fear God, 'or believe in Jeſus Chriſt; it ſufficeth, that the Word of God con-'taineth general rules, which bind particular Perſons without nam-'ing them. 5. St. *Peter* calls the Obedience, that Men owe to Kings, '*an humane Order*, either becauſe Kings command divers things, 'which by their own nature are not derived from the Divine Law '(as ſuppoſe, to forbid to go by night without a Candle) or be-'cauſe they attain to that Power by humane means, which hinders 'not, but that their Power is grounded upon the Word of God, 'after they are once eſtabliſhed; for the Queſtion is not touching 'the means, whereby a Prince attains his Kingdom (*i. e.* whether by Hereditary Succeſſion, or Election] 'but what Obedience is due

to

'to him, after he hath attained thereunto, whosoever buildeth the 'Authority of Kings upon Man's Institution, and not upon the Or-'dinance of God, cuts off three parts of their Authority, and be-'reaveth them of that, which assureth their Lives, and their Crowns 'more than the guards of their Bodies, or puissant Armies, which 'put terror into Subjects instead of framing them to Obedience; 'then the Fidelity of Subjects will be firm and sure, when it shall 'be incorporated into piety, and esteemed to be a part of Religion, 'and of the service, which we owe unto God.

The same excellent Person in his rejoinder to *de Balzac* after he had asserted, that 'the *Jesuits* teach the Murder of Princes, and that 'their Schools have produced many King-killers; he proceeds to vindicate the *French Church* from *de Balzac*'s imputation (who professes himself incens'd against the Authors of the troubles in *France*, tho he acquits *du Moulin*'s Person, as one, who made the subjection due to Sovereignty a part of the Religion, which he taught) affirming, 'that Obedience to our Sovereigns is a thing just and neces-'sary; that to find out an occasion of Rebellion, either in a Man's 'own Religion, or in that of his King, is to make insurrections to 'defend Religion by courses condemn'd by the same Religion; such 'as these, being perplext in their own particular Affairs, hope to 'find ease in troubled waters, and to save themselves amidst a con-'fusion; never yet did the cause of God advance it self that way. '*Moses* had power to inflict grievous punishments on *Ægypt*, and 'her *King*, notwithstanding he would never deliver the Children of '*Israel* out of *Ægypt*, without the permission of the King.

‖Letter 2d. ed. *Lon.* 1636. *Eng.* p. 73, 94, 95.

SECT. XVI.

And tho this famous Man *Peter du Moulin* had one Son, *Lewis*, who applauded the Regicides, translated *Milton*, and bespatter'd the best Church in Christendom, yet God blest him with another, of his own Name and Principles, who in his *Letter* (as he calls it) *of a French Protestant to a Scotchman of the Covenant*, disproves their pre- Printed at tended conformity with the *French* Churches in the points of Church *Lon.* 1640. Discipline, and Obedience to Superiors, averring solemnly, 'that P. 2. 'it was ever far from our wishes, that your conformity with the 'Reformed Churches of *France*, should be misapplyed as a pretence 'of your expelling your Bishops, much less a president for you to 'take Arms against your Gracious Sovereign. ——— take it for P. 37, 38. 'granted, that the Orders imposed upon you by His Majesty are Ungodly,

'Ungodly, and Antichriſtian; are you therefore allowed to defend 'Religion with Rebellion? will ye call the Devil to the help of 'God? Sure it is a prodigious kind of Chriſtian Liberty, for a 'Subject to draw his Sword againſt his Sovereign; you, that ſtand 'ſo much upon the point of conſcience, ought ye not to be *ſubject* ☞ '*for Conſcience ſake?* Were your Sovereign unjuſt and froward, and 'his commands injurious unto God, had ye inſtead of our pious de- 'fender of the Faith, a fierce *Diocleſian*, *illud ſolis precibus, & pati-* 'entiâ *ſanari poteſt*, nothing will mend it, but prayers and patience; 'it is *Beza*'s counſel to the diſcontented Brethren of *England*, con- 'formable to that of St. *Peter*, *for it is better, if the will of God be* 1 Pet. 3. 17. '*ſo, that ye ſuffer for well doing, than for evil doing*; if the Sovereign 'come to kill the Subject for his Religion, the Subject muſt yield 'him his throat, not charge his Pike againſt him; and this he proves P. 38, 39, 40. 'by *Calvin*'s Practice and Writings, —— the Churches of *France*, 'have lately declared to His Majeſties Ambaſſador there, their ut- 'ter diſlike of the Inſurrection of *Scotland*, under pretence of a P. 41. 'Covenant with Chriſt. ——— there can be no juſt cauſe to 'take Arms againſt a Lawful Sovereign, —— after this he treats P. 46. 'of the *French* Proteſtants taking Arms, and concludes, that till the 'Reign of King *Lewis*, the Arms of the Proteſtants were either ju- 'ſtifiable, or excuſable, but their Wars in his time were neither, P. 48. 'and they proſper'd accordingly. —— the *French Proteſtants* had 'to do with a King of a contrary Religion; they were incens'd by 'many wrongs and oppreſſions; they were in danger to loſe with 'their Forts and Towns, their Liberty, their Religion, and their 'Life, the privileges which they enjoyed, were rewards of their 'long Services; by the Charter of *Rochel*, when they yielded to '*Lewis* XI. it was granted to them, that they ſhould be no longer ☞ 'the King's Subjects, than the King ſhould maintain their immuni- 'ties; and yet theſe true reaſons, and juſt fears could not juſtifie 'their defenſive Arms againſt their Sovereign, but they were con- 'demn'd by the beſt of their own, and of their neighbors, and God 'ſhewed his diſlike by the ill ſucceſs he gave them. And much more 'to this purpoſe is to be ſeen in his anſwer to *Philanax Anglicus*, 'and in his *Regii ſanguinis Clamor ad cœlum contra Parricidas Anglis-* Hage Com. 1652 c. 1. 5. '*canos*; (for that being is *du Moulin* juniors, and not *Alexander Mo-* 'rus's, as was conjectured) affirming with the Apoſtle, that even 'the *Jews* would not have Crucified the Lord of Glory, had they 'known him, while the Parricides of King *Charles* I. wittingly, 'and wilfully Murdered their Lawful King, and with the King

beheaded

'beheaded also the Church of *England*, and brought upon the neigh-
'bouring Protestant Churches abundance of Dishonor, and much
'danger, while the same madness was imputed to all the Reforma-
'tion, which had only infected a few, who falsly called themselves
'Reformed. —— Nothing hath happened since the beginning of
'the World, more contrary to the glory of God, or that hath cast
'a greater blot upon holy Truth; while the Wickedness defends it
'self by the Doctrin of the Gospel, and is said to be perpetrated to
'vindicate the Protestant Religion, to the just indignation and ab-
'horrence of all the foreign Churches, for which reason *Salmasius*, P. 7.
'*Heraldus*, *Porree*, and others wrote smartly both against the Men,
'and their villanous Principles: It is a Law, not only written, but P. 17.
'born with us, and springs from the most pure fountains of Nature,
'*That it is a most horrid crime for Subjects to punish their Princes*; and
'therefore we do too much honour to Parricides, when we use Ar-
'guments against them; for as *Aristotle* says, they, who doubt, 1 Top. c 9
'whether God is to be worship'd, or Parents to be honoured, are
'not to be convinc'd by Reasons, but by Scourges; and *Salmasius*
'hath proved by unanswerable Reasons, by divine and human Au-
'thority, that the Majesty of Kings is unaccountable, and that Sub-
'jects have no manner of Authority over them. —— There is no Cap. 2.
'fallacy of Satan, which more prevails upon good Men, to engage p. 29, 30.
'them in an evil Cause, than when Men contrary to God's Word
'believe, that *it is lawful to do evil, that good may come thereof, and*
'*that God hath need of our sinful assistance to promote his Kingdom, and*
'*that whatever is design'd to promote God's Glory, immediatly commen-*
'*ces good.* —— the Judges at *Westminster* were turn'd out by the P. 52.
'Army; because, being consulted, they had given this opinion, that
'*to judge the King was against the Laws of* England. —— to argue Cap. 5.
'from Providence, and Success to the goodness of a Cause is impu- p. 107.
'dent; one man is hang'd for that, by which another gets a Crown.
'*Junius Brutus* by expelling the Kings of the Family of *Tarquin*
'saved his Country; another *Brutus* by murdering a Tyrant ruined
'it; perhaps the later *Brutus* did an act of justice, when he slew an
'Usurper; but the first was very unjust, who drove away a lawful
'King —— by the murder of King *Charles* I. the Parricides taught Cap. 6.
'the rest of the World, that Kings may be guilty of breach of trust p. 121.
'to their People, that the People are their Judges, and may con-
'demn and execute them; and these Tenets, they are not ashamed
'to own in their Writings, that they had freed the World of its old
'Superstition, that Kings are only obnoxious to God, and can be

'punish'd only by him, that they had set an example to all other 'Nations conducive to their safety, and to be dreaded by all Ty-'rants; as *Cromwel* wrote to the *Scots* after *Dunbar* fight, ——— 'what an occasion of insulting is hereby given to the Papists to say, Cap. 7. p. 135. 'this is the Religion, which brings down Reformation to us from 'Heaven; these are the Men, who cry out against the Usurpations 'of the Popes upon the Crowns, and lives of Princes; only, that 'they might themselves have that power over Kings, when they had 'snatched it from the Pope: But the Papists would suggest this 'with less fierceness, if they remembred that those few, who left 'us in this point, went to them, and borrowed their Weapons from C. 8 p. 148. 'them. —— these Monsters do not content themselves with being 'simple Parricides; but they turn Rebellion into a Doctrin of the 'Church, and would fain defend it, as the uniform belief of the 'Reformed. ——— much more to the same purpose may be found in the same Book, which I recommend to the Reader's perusal; the Learned Author of which wrote after his Father's Copy; and therefore I have joyned them together, tho according to the exact rules of Chronology, I should have given the junior *du Moulin* a place in the next Reign.

Chap. VI.

The History of Passive Obedience *during the Reign of King* Charles *the Martyr.*

SECT. I.

WEre we to judge of the righteousness of any Cause, and of its being acceptable to God, by the prosperity of its outward circumstances; and to intitle Heaven to the owning of all the designs, which providence promotes, (as some Divines both then, and since have argued, more consonant to the Doctrin of the *Alcoran*, than the Holy Gospel;) then the most Excellent Prince *Charles* I. was a vile Malefactor, and fell justly a sacrifice to the rage of his rebel Subjects; but the true Sons of the Church were of

of a more Orthodox belief, and chose rather to suffer with their Master the Lord's Anointed, than to enjoy the ease and preferments, which then were the rewards of perfidiousness and disloyalty; as the first part of this History hath amply proved.

And though Dr. *Sybthorp*'s Sermon called *Apostolical Obedience*, was severely censured (nor is it fit to defend every Proposition in it) yet the then Bishop of *London* Dr. *George Mountain*, approved it publickly in Print, as a *Sermon learnedly and discreetly Preached, and agreeable to the Ancient Doctrin of the Primitive Church, both for faith and good manners, and to the Doctrin established in the Church of* England; *and therefore, under his hand gave authority for the Printing of it.* Ma. 8. 1627. *Testim. ante concion.*

Mr. *Hayes. Could any thing privilege Loyalty toward Kings, Eminence and Alliance might be fair pretences; but neither of these could yield* Queen Vasthi *advantage,* —— *but what? shall any dare to limit Sovereignty, and prescribe Majesty it's duty? shall he, that enjoys the subjection of others by the Law, be subject himself to the Law? no, in no other sense, than that of* Aquinas, *not that the Law should lead him by compulsion, but lead him by directive persuasion; if he conform his actions to the prescript of the Laws, it is of his own accord; if he do not, is he lyable to account? Yes, but it is only to God;* against thee only have I sinned, *says King* David. Ps. 51. *those modest times had not the face to capitulate with their Sovereigns; the pride of Faction had not yet hatch'd this rebellious Doctrin,* that if Kings obey not Laws, Subjects have leave to disobey their Kings; *no, let it glory in no Ancienter Author, than* New Rome, *and in no better success, than confusion, and seeing it owes it self to Jesuited Patrons, let it be banish'd this Land together with their Persons.* Serm. at St. *Mary's Oxon.* on Esth. 1. 15 1624. p. 3, 21.

Mr. *Adams.* —— *When* Saul *was in* David's *hands, his Men alledge God's promise, and the advantage concurring,* —— *and what was* David's *charm, to allay the fury of those raging Spirits?* he is the Lord's Anointed: Saul *did not lend* David *so impenetrable an Armour, when he ran to encounter* Goliah, *as* David *lent him in the plea of his Unction.* —— *not one of the discontented Out-laws durst put forth a hand of violence against him; the image, and impress of that Divine Ordinance strikes such an awe into the hearts of Men, that it makes even Traytors cowards; so that instead of smiting they tremble, like those, whose Office it is to suffer, not to do;* fear God, honour the King; *there was never Man that feared God, but he also honored the Prince.* —— *But let us hear, what the* Synod of Hell *can plead for disobedience, how if the Prince be bad, an Enemy to truth* In 2d. ep. of *Peter* pr. 1633. p. 755. P. 759, &c

and goodneſs, a Raviſher, a Perſecutor, raiſing powers for the extirpation of the Goſpel; here, if ever a Subject may renounce all Allegiance, for here is power againſt power, Man againſt God, and the Subject of both left to follow either. Anſw. *in this ſtreight ſome, for fear of the King, Shipwrack their faith, and theſe are Traytors to God; others by a defenſive ſword in their hand Rebels to the King: there is no queſtion, but God muſt be obeyed even againſt the King, when the King commands things againſt God.* —— *what then, ſhall we reſiſt him with violence; no, God never Warrants that practice, no not againſt a Prince, that denies him; there is an* active *Obedience, and a* paſſive, *I may not execute his impious commands, I muſt ſuffer his unjuſt puniſhments.* —— *the vices of Men cannot fruſtrate the inſtitution of God; peruſe* Mat. 5. 44. *and* Rom. 12. 17. *this will tye the Hands of Chriſtian Subjects;* Samuel *offer'd not to depoſe* Saul, *though the expreſs Sentence of God had caſt him off, and he was Excommunicated by a higher power than ever came from* Rome, Saul *lived, and dyed a King,* —— *this he illuſtrates by the examples of the* Jews, *and Primitive Chriſtians; and adds, what reſiſtance did thoſe Primitive Chriſtians make to thoſe barbarous outrages, but praying for the Emperor's life, when under the Emperor's command they were bleeding to death; neither did they ſuffer, becauſe they were not able to reſiſt, but it was their Doctrin,* &c. —— *Chriſtians never prove loſers, but when they unjuſtly fight for their own preſervation, provide we the buckler of patience, not a ſword.* —— *when the decree was gone out by* Ahaſuerus, *this was their refuge,* preces & lacrymæ, —— *the Apoſtles could work miracles, yet they reſiſted not the ordinate powers; this charge St.* Paul *gives the* Romans, *even while* Nero *was their Emperor, a Monſter, whom divers held to be* Antichriſt; —— *that Religion then cannot be right, that pulls down Princes; ſeeing neither* Moſes *in the* Old Teſtament, *nor Chriſt in the* New, *nor Levite, nor Prophet, Apoſtle, nor Diſciple, either counſell'd or practiſed againſt Government; which ſhould decide the point, that hath coſt the Lives of ſo many Chriſtians, and ſtill threatens more*
P. 763. *Tragedies,* —— *there was never Prince, to whom ſome* Belialiſt *took not ſome exceptions,* —— *it were ill with Princes, if their ſtate depended on the good liking of their Subjects:* —— *Subjects unfaithful at the heart, may be without the ſuſpicion of their Prince; but they beheld Rebels in the Court of Heaven; we be bound to be ſubject not only for wrath, but for conſcience ſake. In all the time of* David's *proſperity there was no news of* Shimei, *he looks like a fair Subject; but he, that*
P. 821. *ſmiles on* David *in his Throne, curs'd him in his Flight.* —— *there is no ſecurity in that Subjects Allegiance, that hath not God in his Conſcience,*

ſcience, —— *he that poyſons the People with the male opinion of their Prince, is the moſt dangerous Traytor; to rip up the faults of Kings is bold Impiety, but to charge them with faults they have not, is ſhameleſs Blaſphemy.*

SECT. III.

To this purpoſe alſo, the Author of *a diſcourſe concerning Supreme Power, and common right* calculated for the year 1641. but publiſh'd *an.* 1680. is very full and pertinent: I muſt recommend the Book to the Reader, while I cite only one paſſage out of it. *Kings have a right of ſecurity againſt all Violence, they are above all humane judicature, and only under God, as the People are under them; for which God ſtyles himſelf,* Lord of Lords, and King of Kings. P. 33.

Sam. Otes Chaplain to Sir *Francis Walſingham,* and other Perſons of Honor, in his Seventeenth Sermon on S. *Jude*'s Epiſtle, v. 8.— *Our Lord Jeſus performed all Obedience to Rulers, even then, when they were Heathen, and knew not God; his precept was,* Give to Ceſar the things that are Ceſars —— *his practice, he paid tribute, and* Paul 1 Tim. 2. 1. *willeth the* Epheſians *to pray for them, even then, when like* Manaſſes, *they poured out blood like water, and made Towns and Cities ſwim with blood, as he did* Jeruſalem; *when like the* Chaldees, *they gave the dead bodies of God's Servants unto the Fowls of the air, and the Fleſh of his Saints unto the Beaſts of the field: When, like* Antiochus, *they burnt all Libraries, and conſumed the days of the Chriſtians like ſmoak, and their Bones were burnt like an hearth, when they were like Pelicans in the Wilderneſs, and like Owls in the Deſarts; when they did eat aſhes like bread, and mingled their Drink with weeping, and to ſhew the conſtant practice of this, not to go back, like the ſhadow of* Ezekiah's *Dyal, to the time of the Law; the* Jews *are commanded to pray for* Nebuchadnezzar, *tho, as a Man, he deſerved not the Name of a Man but a Beaſt; yet, as a King, he is called the* Servant of the Moſt High God. Lond. 1633. fol. P. 206, 207, &c.

Mr. *Rob. Bolton,* Batchelor in Divinity, and Preacher of God's Word at *Broughton* in *Northamptonſhire,* in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Honorable Sir *Rob. Carre,* Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber. 'A gracious Man about a Royal Perſon, is a goodly ſight, and 'full well worth even a King's Ranſom. For never any, except him-'ſelf truly fear the great God of Heaven, can poſſibly be cordially 'and conſcionably ſerviceable to any of our earthly Gods: A Principle 'ſo clear and unqueſtionable, that no Man of Underſtanding, and 'Maſter of his own Wits, except himſelf be notoriouſly obnoxious, 'can have the face to deny it. Pleaſe they may, be politickly plauſi-

'ble,

'ble, flatter extremely, and represent themselves to ordinary observa-
'tion, as the only Men for Loyalty and Love; but if we could search,
'and see their hearts, we should find them then most laborious to serve
'themselves, and advance their own Ends, when they seem most zea-
'lous for their Sovereign's Service. *Achitophel*, in the sunshine of Peace
'and Calmness of the Kingdoms, did accommodate himself to the pre-
'sent, both in Consultations of State, and religious Conformity; but
'no sooner had this hollow-hearted Man espy'd a dangerous Tempest,
'rais'd by *Absalom*'s unnatural Treachery, but he turn'd Traytor to
'his natural Lord: When he observ'd the Wind to blow another way,
'he follow'd the blast, and set his Sails according to the Weather;
'which made *David* after complain; but it was thou, O Man, even
'my Companion, my Guide, and Familiar: We took sweet Counsel
'together, *&c.* Wherefore let great Men, without Grace, profess
'and pretend what they will, and protest the Impossibility of any such
'thing; as *Hazael* did in another Case; yet ordinarily, in such tu-
'multuous times, and of universal confusion, for the securing of their
'temporal happiness; which without timely turning on God's side, is
'all the Heaven they are like to have in this World or the World to
'come. I say upon a point of great Advantage and Advancement
'with safety, they would fly from the declining State and down-fall
'of their old Master, tho formerly the mightiest Monarch upon earth,
'as from the Ruins of a falling House. And it can be no otherwise;
'for they have no internal Principle, or supernatural Power, to il-
'lighten and enable them to set their shoulders against the Torrent of
'the times, and be overflown with it. But now, he that truly fears
'God, would rather lose his high Place, nay his Posterity; as much
'Hearts-blood, if he had it, as would animate a whole Kingdom,
'than leave his lawful Sovereign Lord in such a Case, upon any terms,
'tho he might have even the Imperial Crown set upon his own Head.
'For, Conscience, that poor neglected thing, nay, in these last and
'looser times, even laughed at by Men of the World; yet a stronger
'tye of Subjects hearts unto their Sovereigns, than Man or Devil is
'able to dissolve; ever holds up his Loyal Heart erect and unshaken,
'when all *Shebnas*, *Hamans*, and *Achitophels* would hide their heads,
'and shrink in the wetting. Which Conscience of his, if upon such
'occasion he should unhappily wound, he knows full well, it would
'follow him with guilty Cries, for his so base temporizing and tray-
'torous slinking, all the days of his life.

To. 2. Ser. 8. p. 637. *Mr.* Faringdon. *If we make no better use of our Liberty, than to fling it over our shoulders, and wear it as a* Cloak of Maliciousness, *the spirit*

ſpirit is ready to pull it off, and tell us our duty, that for all our liberty we are to ſerve one another; *that Chriſtianity deſtroys not relations of Son to Father, of Servant to Maſter, of Wife to Husband, of Inferior to Superior, but eſtabliſheth them rather,* ——— *and his Practice was according to his Doctrin, for he was an Eminent Confeſſor to Loyalty* in that great Rebellion, *as was alſo his dear Friend Mr.* Chillingworth, between whom there was a great Sympathy of Sentiments and Sufferings; for both were haraſs'd for Preaching the ſame truth, eſpecially the later; but nothing could affright him from his duty, which obliged him freely to reprove the vices of the Age, he lived in: ——— *the chief actors in this bloody Tragedy, which is now upon the Stage, who have robb'd our Sovereign Lord the King of his Forts* —— *of the Perſons of many of his Subjects, and as much as lies in them, of the hearts of all of them, is it credible, that they know and remember, and conſider the example of* David *recorded for their inſtruction, whoſe heart ſmote him, when he cut off the hem of* Saul's *garment;* ——— *they, that make no ſcruple at all of fighting againſt his Sacred Majeſty, and ſhooting Muskets, and Ordnance at him (which ſure have not the skill to chooſe a Subject from a King) to the extreme hazard of his Sacred Perſon, whom by all poſſible obligations they are bound to defend; do they know, think you, the general rule without exception, or limitation left by the Holy Ghoſt for our direction in all ſuch caſes,* who can lift up his hand againſt the Lord's Anointed, and be innocent? 1 Sam. 26. 9. *or do they conſider his commands in* the Proverbs of Solomon (24. 21.) my Son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them, that are given to change; *or his counſel in the Book of* Eccleſiaſtes (8. 1.) I counſel thee to keep the King's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God; *or becauſe they poſſibly may pretend, that they are exempted from, or unconcern'd in the commands of Obedience delivered in the Old Teſtament, do they know, and remember the Precept given to all Chriſtians by* St. Peter, ſubmit your ſelves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's ſake, *&c. or that terrible Sanction of the ſame command,* they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation, *left by St.* Paul *in his Epiſtle to the* Romans, *who then were the miſerable Subjects of the worſt King, the worſt Man; nay I think, I may add truly the worſt Beaſt in the World; that ſo all Rebels mouths might be ſtopt for ever, and left without all colour and pretence whatſoever, to juſtifie reſiſtance of Sovereign Power. Undoubtedly if they did know, and conſider, and lay to heart theſe places of Scripture, or the fearful judgment, which befel* Corah, Dathan, *and* Abiram, *for this very ſin, which they now commit,*

His firſt Ser. before the King on 2 *Tim.* 3. 1, 2, *&c.* p. 6, 7, *&c.*

mit, and with a high hand ſtill proceed in, it would be impoſſible, but their hearts would ſmite them, as David's *did upon an infinitely leſs occaſion, and affright them out of theſe ways of preſent confuſion, and eternal damnation.*

SECT. III.

10. Serm. Pr. at *Lon.* 1640. P. 109. P. 131. Dr. Arthur Lake *Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells. *Magiſtrates are from God, and he reſides among them, Magiſtrates muſt proceed like God —— God can, and will redreſs the evils, that ſpring from them, becauſe he is Sovereign in, and over thoſe places and perſons, which are miſgoverned by them; ——— what is our leſſon? truly firſt, as* Nazianzen *adviſes, as near as we can, though we cannot as conſtantly as God, not to have a heart, and not a heart; but to ſay with King* David, I have ſworn, and am ſtedfaſtly purpoſed; *it were to be wiſh'd, there were ſuch a conſtancy in our Oaths; ſo many would not retract the Oath of that Allegiance, which they owe without an Oath.*

Sermon at St. *Mary's Cambr.* on *Judg.* 21. 25. 1642. p. 27, 28, 29. Dr. Stephens. *The King's Commiſſion is ſigned from Heaven,* by me Kings Reign, *his Authority is conferr'd by Heaven, he is the* Anointed of the Lord; *his power deſcends from Heaven, —— obedience to him is required from Heaven.* 1 Pet. 2. *it is the will of God, that you ſubmit your ſelves to the Government of your Kings. I have heard the Prophet* David *ſuſpected by ſome, as partial in his own cauſe; juſt like the* Northern *Borderers, who conceived the Eighth Commandment (*thou ſhalt not ſteal*) to be none of God's making, but foiſted in by* Henry *the Eighth, to ſhackle their thieviſh fingers; — but I dare oppoſe the* 13*th Chapter of the Epiſtle to the* Romans *againſt the power of Men, or Devils, which would trample upon the necks of Kings, —— ſuppoſe thy King very wicked, he hath more need of thy Prayers to make him better; ſuppoſe him to be a Tyrant, he will give thee the fairer occaſions to exerciſe thy virtue of patience; ſuppoſe him to be a Perſecutor, he'll do thee a courteſie, he'll ſend thee to Heaven by violence ——*

P. 30, 31. *&c.* Saul *was an unnatural Tyrant againſt his own Son* Jonathan, *a bloody Perſecutor of the Prieſt's of God, a Sacrilegious Uſurper of their Holy Offices, a demoniacal furious Man poſſeſt with a Devil, and on* David's *part, his life was ſought for, and by ſparing* Saul *he ſhould undo himſelf; he had all the opportunity that might, and ſecurity could adminiſter unto him, he was* Saul's *adopted Son by* Michal's *Marriage, he was a Succeſſor to the Kingdom by the Prophet's Unction, and yet for all this,* who can lift up his hand, *&c. —— are we Chriſtians, do we know the virtue of an Oath? What think we then of the* Solemn Oath

of

of our Allegiance? *an Oath, which can receive no diſpenſation, no abſolution from any power whatſoever.* —— *contrary to the aſſertions of* Bellarmine, *and* Parſons *is the eſtabliſh'd Doctrin of the Church of* England *in the* 37 *Article*; the King's Majeſty hath the chief Power in this Realm of *England*, and his other Dominions, and is not, nor ought to be Subject to any juriſdiction whatſoever. —— *the ſix parts of the Homily againſt Rebellion are ſo full and appoſite, that we muſt either diſclaim them from being the Interpreters of the Doctrin of our Church, or ſit down convinc'd in the manifeſt truth of this aſſertion,* &c. *Conſider ſeriouſly, againſt whom would you take up Arms? is it not againſt the Power, againſt the* Ordinance *of God?* —— *they are Men before God, but they are Gods before Men.* —— *the whole earth combining could not make St.* Bernard *willingly offend his King, and ſhall the fear of a threatned plundering make us oppoſe our King?* —— *ſhall the common rout perſuade me to go to Hell for company?* —— *'Tis true, God ſometimes refines his Church in the Furnace of Perſecution, neither then does he leave it naked, and diſarm it; but what are the Churches weapons? St.* Ambroſe *had his* dolere potero, potero flere, *his ſighs, and groans againſt the* Gothiſh. *Soldiers, St.* Bernard *fought to death againſt* Lewis of France, non ſcutis, aut gladiis, ſed precibus, & fletibus, *prayers and tears were his Sword and Buckler.* Nazianzen *overcame* Julian, *but it was* lacrymis ubertim effuſis, *by ſoftning his Adamantine Heart with ſalt drops from their eyes; thence flows the only Sea, we can overthrow* Pharaoh's *Hoſt in.* —— Id. Serm. on Judg. 4.23.p.78.

SECT. IV.

P. H. Corah *of the tribe of* Levi *joyn'd with* Dathan, &c. *of the tribe of* Reuben —— *the* Levite, *or Clergy alone would have wanted power and ſtrength, the Laity, or* Reubenite *alone could not have had ſo fair a colour, and cloak of Religion to cover their rebellious practices; but both join'd together make a ſtrong Faction, and a fair ſhow,* —— *our ſureſt courſe is to judge Mens Perſons by their actions; if their actions be unſound and irregular, if they gather themſelves together (againſt God's expreſs word, and commandment) againſt their Prince and Sovereign, be their outward appearance never ſo ſpecious, we may aſſure our ſelves, that they neither fear God, nor regard Man, but only to ſerve their own turns.* —— *if God in abſolute and unlimited terms pronounce,* whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, *I cannot ſee, how the goodneſs of the end, be it Religion or Reformation,* Sermon at Cambr. 1640. on Numb. 16. 3. p. 5, 6. p. 10. 2. p. 11, &c.

P. 15. conf. the place. *or the common good can warrant any ſuch reſiſtance from the tranſgreſſion of God's Ordinance, unleſs theſe, and the like limitations had been ſpecifyed, and annext to the Command, Law, or Ordinance of Almighty God,* &c.

Anno 1643. Dr. *Thomas Swadlyn* Printed three Sermons intitled *the Sovereign's deſire, and Subjects duty*; (and himſelf was a Confeſſor at that time, being Impriſoned for his Loyalty, as he declares in his Epiſtle, which he dedicates *to the World*) wherein having proved, that all Power is from God; eſpecially Monarchy, he ſhews, 'that every Soul is to be ſubject, howſoever a King may deal unjuſtly with them, either. 1. By violating the Laws, and inforcing their Conſciences, or. 2. By depriving them of their Goods by extortions, and impriſoning their Perſons; and though in the former of theſe caſes he may not be obeyed, yet in neither of theſe caſes may he be reſiſted. But what are we to do then? Why, we may either fly away, as *David* did from *Saul*; if we do not, then we muſt ſuffer, but at no hand may we reſiſt. —— When St. *Paul* ſays, *let every ſoul be ſubject*, he means. 1. Let every Soul honour the King. 2. Let every Soul obey the King in things lawful and indifferent. 3. Let every Soul be ſubject to the King in commands unlawful, *i. e.* let every Soul patiently ſuffer, when he cannot actually do.

Serm. 2. on *Rom.* 13 1. p. 25.

Id. Ser. 3. p. 29. 31, 33. 38. 'If the commands violate the Conſcience, yet there the Power may not be reſiſted, for to reſiſt the Power is a ſin ſecond to none, but Sacrilege; the higheſt crime againſt Heaven is Sacrilege, and the next crime to this, is Rebellion againſt, or diſobedience unto the Majeſty of Earth, and whoſoever reſiſts the Higher Powers, reſiſts both God and the King, —— the word is ἀντιτάσσομαι, and ſignifies, whoſoever contrary orders, or orders againſt the Laws, or the Arms of the chief Magiſtrate, he reſiſts the Higher Powers, whether it be in ſubtilty of counſel, or obloquy of ſpeech, and if ſo, much more a heinous crime is it to take up Arms againſt the King. —— I have not ſpoken this to flatter Kings; no, they ſhall dye like Men, but to inform you; —— he that preſumes, ſins againſt the juſtice of God; he that deſpairs, ſins againſt his Mercy; but he, that reſiſts the Power, ſins againſt the Power of God; and he, that dares take Arms againſt the King, would, if he could, take Arms againſt God too; and therefore as damnation is due to every ſin, ſo eſpecially to this ſin, the ſin of Rebellion.

Sermon at *Whitehall March* 22 1639. p. 18, 19. Dr. *B. Holyday* Archdeacon of *Oxford*, 'to ſtrike one's Father was death by the Law, to curſe one's Father was death by the Law, *&c.* the Law then for the Son, and the Subject being the ſame;

where

'where is the love? where is the fear? where is wiſdom? where is 'grace? where is nature? are they not all fled from a rebellious heart? 'had zeal antiently armed it ſelf againſt Sovereignty, we had never 'heard of a Calendar of Saints. —— *Salus populi ſuprema lex* includes P. 28. 'in it the ſafety of the head; — and for the members of the body to 'riſe againſt the head, is it not unnatural? is it not frenzy? ——— 'let them remember the breach of *Iſrael*, which did firſt wilfully de- P. 30. 'part from their Sovereign, and afterwards unwillingly, whileſt per- 'force, from their Country; and that afterwards in two hundred years 'they had both many more, and worſe Kings than *Judah* had; and 'were at laſt ſeized on by the divine judgment, to the inſtruction of 'others, but their own ruin; —— *we may not do evil, that good may* Id. Serm: 'come thereof; — royalty muſt not down for the advancement of Reli- at *Oxf.* 'gion — object Rebellion, and ye object all crimes, — it is nearer *May* 21. 'to a flout, than a truth to call a Rebel, a Chriſtian. — they will 1643. p 42 'ask, what is the final cauſe of a King? and they will anſwer, the Sermon at 'Peoples welfare certainly, a true anſwer, and as certain an imperfect St. *Mary's* 'one; the People's good is an inferior purpoſe of Majeſty; the repre- *May* 19. 'ſentation of the Divine Majeſty is the higheſt purpoſe of Humane 1644. 'Majeſty — when in all cauſes, a King is *next under God Supreme Go-* P. 65, 66. '*vernor*, how can the People, whether ſingle, or united, be the Govern- 'or of that Governor? a great Council may be the adviſer of a Prince, P. 91. 'but as the Statute Law of our Prayer binds us to confeſs before God, 'it is God, that is *the only Ruler of Princes.* —— a King *Abſalom* would Id. Serm. 'be, —— not of God's making, for he had made *David*; not of *David's* at Chr. Ch. 'making —— a King then he could be made only by the People, and *Nov.* 10. 'the Devil, whileſt by the People and Treaſon, whilſt againſt the con- 1644. 'ſent of God and *David.* p. 106.

Mr. *Barkenhead.* 'However we muſt perform active Obedience to ſuch Serm: on 'Princes only, as far as lawfully we may, ſo long as they are not ſet *Nov.* 3. 'in competition with God; yet we muſt perform *Paſſive Obedience*, and 1644. at Chr. Ch. '*abſolute ſubjection*, even if they ſhould command the moſt unjuſt, ſu- *Oxon.* 'perſtitious, idolatrous, profane, and irreligious things, which can be p. 13. 'imagined; yet, I ſay, we muſt not Rebel, unleſs we will renounce 'Chriſtianity; but we muſt let this be the touchſtone of our ſubjection, 'even our patient and conſtant ſufferings.

SECT. V.

Dr. *Henry King* Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter.* 'They, that lift up their Sermon at 'hands againſt the King in publick Rebellion, or their tongues in mur- St. *Paul's* 'mur againſt his Commands, or their hearts in diſobedient, and diſcon- *Mar.* 21, 1640. p. 11.

'tented thoughts are as ill Subjects to God, as to the King: you need 'not ask, whom have they reſiſted? St. *Paul* tells you *Rom.* 13. they 'have *reſiſted the Ordinance of God*; for he hath his Power from God.—
P. 36. 'Men like the mutinous *Iſraelites*, upon all occaſions of pretended diſ-'content, cry down *Moſes*, and ſet up an Idol made out of popular
Id. Serm. before the King *May* 29. 1661. p. 22, &c. 'votes and contributions, to what Votes ſoever Elective Rulers owe 'their Scepters, Succeſſion is the Vote of God, who both declares the 'right, and then continues it, as his donation. —— Crowns conferr'd 'by other hands ſit looſe, and tottering upon the head of ſuch, as wear 'them; *I will give it*, keeps them faſt. this is the great Charter, by 'which Kings hold the right to their Kingdoms, by *me Kings rule* —— 'where are thoſe then, who place the right to diſpoſe Kingdoms in 'the Popes, or thoſe in another extreme, who intitle the People to 'this power; a ſtrange prodigy in opinion not heard of, till thoſe Men 'came into the World, who (as was falſly alledged of the Apoſtles at '*Theſſalonica Act.* 17. 6.) *turn'd the World upſide down*, placing the feet 'above the head, and ſubjecting the Higher Powers, contrary to the 'rule of God, to the People, who by his command ought to be ſubject 'unto them. ——— when the rebellious *Iſraelites* in *Moſes*'s abſence, 'would needs make a God, that is, a Leader or Ruler to go before 'them, they contributed their ear-rings to the carrying on that deſign; 'but the effect and iſſue of that contribution was only a *Calf*. I be-'ſeech you, remember from all our contributory Plate, from the ſil-'ver baſin, even to the ſmalleſt bodkin, whether we have any produ-
P. 30. 'ctions amongſt us better than this. —— Men, who decry the Pope, yet 'cry up themſelves into an Authority as great as his, not only over the
Id. Viſit. Sermon at *Lewis* *Octob.* 8. 1662. p. 43. 'People, but over the Prince —— whatſoever therefore teacheth —— 'Children Obedience to their Parents, Subjects Loyalty toward their 'Sovereign; whatſoever teacheth the afflicted patience, the happy tem-'perance, the faithful perſeverance, and all ſorts of People Charity, is 'that ſound Doctrin, which we muſt Preach, the Congregation 'learn.

Dr. *Gardiner*. 'It is high time for Sovereign Majeſty to ſend a ſtrict
Sermon at St. *Mary*'s *Ox.* on Act Sund. 1622. p. 25, &c. 'injunction of taking heed, that we poyſon not our ſtudies with the 'Writings of *Puritans*, and *Jeſuits*; for the one, no leſs than the other, 'under colour of Zeal, and pretence of Holy Diſcipline corrupt, and 'ſpoil green age, before it can diſcern, and ſeaſon new Veſſels with un-'ſeaſonable liquor, witneſs that deteſtable and trayterous inſtruction, en-'couraging Subjects to reſiſt their ſupreme Rulers, when they are noto-'rioufly tax'd of injuſtice and cruelty; ſo that Kings according to them 'ſhall be no longer Kings, than they ſerve their turns; are not theſe '*Goſpellers*, where they broach ſuch Tenets, mere Popes? are they not

like

'like to *Antichriſt*, that ſits in the Temple of God, but advanceth him-
'ſelf againſt all that is called God? or do they not work like *Sampſon*,
'who laid hold on the Pillars, whereon the houſe did ſtand, that over-
'throwing them, the houſe, and the men might fall into a common
'ruin? I am ſure, God's word ſays, *Touch not mine Anointed, and do my*
'*Prophets no harm*; and this Commandment of Obedience is without
'diſtinction. *Jeremy* chap. 29. commands the *Iſraelites*, even thoſe,
'which were Captives under Heathen Kings, not to reſiſt, but to pray
'for them, and for the Peace of *Babylon*; and it is acceptable to the
'Lord, ſays St. *Paul* (1 *Tim.* 2.) not that ye reſiſt, but that ye *make*
'*ſupplications and prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority*, the
'Prophets, the Apoſtles, and Chriſt himſelf ſubjected themſelves to
'the Power of Magiſtracy, and therefore when the Diſciple did draw
'his Sword in Chriſt's defence, he was commanded to put it up; ——
'the examples are not to be numbred of God's puniſhments upon thoſe,
'that have reſiſted authority by God ordain'd and eſtabliſh'd: In the
'Old Law it was death, if a Man had reſiſted the Higher Power.
'*Corah* with all his, was conſumed with fire, *Dathan* and *Abiram* were
'ſwallowed up of the earth, becauſe they ſeditiouſly reſiſted *Moſes* and
'*Aaron*: We know what end *Abſalom* came unto, when he had expel-
'led his Father out of his Kingdom; what ſeem'd more goodly to the
'eye of the World, than that notable act of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who
'deſtroyed *Cæſar* reputed a Tyrant, and yet that thoſe their doings
'were not allowed of God, the end declared; wherefore it is not law-
'ful to reſiſt ſupreme Rulers, tho they ſwerve from the line of juſtice;
'for it pleaſes God ſometimes to puniſh his People by a tyrannous
'hand, and in ſuch a caſe to reſiſt what elſe is it, but *tollere martyrium*,
'to take away the occaſion, the Glory and Crown of Martyrdom.

Anno 1647. Dr. *Jaſper Mayne* publiſh'd his ὀχλομαχία, or the *Peoples* P. 5.
war examined, &c. *and in it*, he affirms, 'that ſuppoſe the King invade
'the Peoples Liberties, which could not poſſibly be preſerved, but by
'Arms taken up againſt the Invader, —— yet the King being this
'Invader (unleſs by ſuch an Invaſion he could ceaſe to be their King,
'and they to be his Subjects) I cannot ſee, how ſuch Rights could
'make their defence lawful. —— and this he proves, by ſhewing the P. 6, 7, &c.
'Divine Inſtitution of Kings, and what rights God allowed them, ——
'particularly that of being ſupreme, independently Lord of his own
'actions; whether unjuſt or juſt, as not to be accountable to any but
'God; after which he proceeds to ſhew, wherein the ſupreme Power P. 12, &c.
'conſiſts, and that thoſe particular rights do belong to the Kings of
'*England*, —— wherefore the Crown is Hereditary, where the te- P. 16, 17.
'nure is not conditional, nor hangs upon any contract, where the on-

'ly

'ly obligation upon the Prince is the Oath, that he takes at his Coro-
'nation to rule according to the known Laws of the place; tho every
'breach of ſuch an Oath be an offence againſt God (to whom alone
'a Prince thus Independent, is accountable for his actions) yet 'twill
'never paſs for more than *perjury* in the Prince; no warrant for Sub-
'jects to take up Arms againſt him. —— were a King miſled by evil
'Counſellors, did actually trample upon the Laws of the Kingdom,
'and the liberty of his Subjects; yet unleſs ſome *Original Compact* can
'be produced, where 'tis agreed, that upon every ſuch incroachment,
'it ſhall be lawful for them to ſtand upon their defence —— that
'where the King ceaſes to govern according to Law, he ſhall for ſuch
'Miſgovernment ceaſe to be King, to urge ſuch unfortunate Prece-
'dents, as a depoſed *Richard*, or a dethroned *Edward* (two diſpropor-
'tioned examples of popular fury, the one forc'd to part with his
'Crown by reſignation, the other as never having had legal title to it)
'may ſhew the injuſtice of former Parliaments grown ſtrong, never
'juſtifie the pitch'd Fields, that have been fought by this. If this ſup-
'poſition were true, the King being bound to make the Law his rule
Sect p.20, 'by no other obligation, but his Oath at his Coronation (than which
21, &c. 'there cannot be a greater, I confeſs, and where 'tis violated, never
'without repentance ſcapes unpuniſh'd) yet 'tis a treſpaſs, of which Sub-
'jects can only complain, but as long as they are Subjects can never
'innocently revenge. —— but they will ſay, they have all this while
'fought for the defence of the Proteſtant Religion, &c. all which re-
P. 36. 'ſolves it ſelf into this unchriſtian bloody concluſion, that an Aſſembly
'of profeſs'd Proteſtant Divines have adviſed the two Parliaments of
'*England* and *Scotland* confeſs'd Subjects, to take up Arms againſt the
'King their lawful Sovereign, have thereby ſet three Kingdoms in a
Id. def. of his Serm. againſt *Cheynel*. p. 4. 'flame, &c. This Doctrin (that it is not lawful to propagate Religion,
'how pure ſoever it be by the ſword) is that Religion, to which I pro-
'feſs my ſelf ready to fall a Sacrifice, is that defamed, true, Prote-
'ſtant Religion, for which the Holy Fathers of our Reformation dyed
'before me.

Pr. at *Oxf.* p. 2, 3, &c. Dr. *Peter Heylyn Anno* 1643. publiſh'd the *Rebel's Catechiſm, wherein he ſhews, that* Lucifer *was the firſt Author of Rebellion —— that the Rebellion even of the heart makes a Man guilty of Damnation in the ſight of God, much more that of the tongue, or the hand; —— that one branch of the Rebellion of the hand is the compoſing, and diſperſing of falſe and ſcandalous Books, and Pamphlets tending to the diſhonour of the King; the other the taking up Arms againſt ſuch Perſons, to whoſe Authority they are ſubject.* ——
P. 6, 7. conf p. 9, 10, 11, &c. *and it is worth our obſervation, that not only the bearing Arms againſt the King is declared to be Rebellion by the Law of* England, *but that it was declared*

declared to be Rebellion by the chief Judges of this Kingdom, at the Arraignment of the Earl of Eſſex, *for any Man to ſeek to make himſelf ſo ſtrong, that the King ſhould not be able to reſiſt him, although he broke not out into open act, —— even defenſive Arms are abſolutely unlawful in the Subject againſt his Sovereign, in regard that no defenſive War can be undertaken, but it carrieth with it a reſiſtance in it to thoſe Higher Powers, to which every Soul is to be ſubject. —— we find it thus reſolved in* Plutarch, *that it was contrary both to poſitive Laws, and the Law of Nature, for any Subject to lift up his hand againſt the Perſon of his Sovereign*; with much more to the ſame purpoſe. P. 12.

The ſame Author, near about the ſame time, wrote a Treatiſe intitled, *the ſtumbling-block of diſobedience removed*, to ſhew, that Kings ought not to be controuled by their Subjects, either ſingly, or in a body, the whole of which learned Treatiſe, as well as his other Vindications of the Doctrins and Rights of our Church, will ſufficiently repay the Reader's expence of pains and leiſure. See his *Eccleſia Vindicata* p 645, &c Pr. at *Lon.* 1681.

And in his Sermon on *May* 29. 1681. *it is to be obſerved, that ſuch as draw their Swords upon God's Anointed, uſe commonly to throw away the ſcabberds alſo, and find no way of doing better, but by doing worſe; no middle way for them to walk in, but either to bear up like Princes, or to dye like Traytors.*

SECT. VI

Of the ſame belief was Sir *John Spelman* in his *Caſe of our affairs in Law*, &c. *that the Sovereignty is in the King's Perſon inſeparably, and the allegiance of the Subject by Law thereto inſeparably annex'd, fortified, and enforc'd by Religion, under the ſevere menace of damnation. —— what ſtreight then of humane Affairs can be ſo violent, as to make Chriſtian Subjects contrary to ſworn Faith; to Law, and to Religion, not only to diſobey their Sovereign, but reſiſt and Invade the Sovereign Rights*, &c. Pr. *Oxf.* 1643. p. 15, 17, 19.

Anno 1641. Sir *Tho. Aſhton*, and many others, Noblemen, and Gentlemen of *Cheſhire*, tendred *a Remonſtrance to the Parliament againſt Preſbyterian Government*; and in it they affirm, 'that the donation of Sove-'reign Power is ſolely from God, and ſo will he have the revocation 'too; he doth not ſubject them to the queſtion of inferiors, but puts 'a Guard upon their Sacred Perſons, which to violate, though in our 'own defence, is a breach of his command, even when perſecuted, as '*David* was by *Saul*, which precepts are renewed in the Goſpel. —— 'we ſee our ſelves bound by Oath to acknowledge, and ſupport that 'Regal Government, our Statutes have eſtabliſh'd, our Laws approv-'ed, Hiſtory repreſents moſt happy —— to whom all Primitive times yielded

'yielded full obedience, to whose Throne Christ himself yields Tribute, whose Persons God will have Sacred, whose actions unquestionable, whose Succession he himself determines, and whose Kingdoms he disposes. — *Tacitus*, tho a Heathen, advises us, to bear with the riots, and covetousness of Kings, as with barrenness, and other infirmities of nature; for while there are Men, there will be vices, but they cannot continue long, and will be recompenc'd when better come.

In the 19*th.* year of this King came forth a little book, called *an Appeal to thy Conscience, as thou wilt answer it at the great, and dreadful day of Jesus Christ*; the Author of which says, 'that Subjects may not take 'up Arms against their lawful Sovereign, because he is wicked and unjust; no, tho he be an Idolater and Oppressor. 1. Because it were an 'high presumption in us to limit that command, which God doth not 'limit; now our obedience to Superiors, is always commanded without 'limitation. 2. We may not think evil of the King, much less may we 'take up Arms against him. 3. St. *Paul* saith, *recompence to no man evil for evil, Rom.* 12. 19. If to no Man, then certainly not to thy King, '4. That, which peculiarly belongs to the Lord, thou oughtest not 'without his Authority to meddle with; *but vengeance is his.* 5. *Rom.* 13. '*Every Soul* (none excluded) *must be subject*; *there is no Power but of* 'God (if so, then the Power of a wicked Prince is from God) and the 'penalty of resisting, is everlasting damnation both of Soul and Body in 'Hell-fire for ever. 6. In *Eccl.* 8. 1, 2. the Covenant made by the People to obey their King, is called the Oath of God, and who dares 'break this Oath of God? 7. God commands, *Touch not mine Anointed*, 'therefore thou mayest not smite him, therefore thou mayest not bear 'Arms against God's Anointed. 8. For Subjects to take up Arms against 'their own King, tho an Idolater, and an Oppressor, is contrary to 'the practice of God's People in all Ages, the Jews, and the Prophets, 'Christ and his Apostles, and the Primitive Christians. 9. God's heavy 'judgments on those, who have taken up Arms against their Prince, 'tho an Idolater and Oppressor, ought to be a warning to us, how we 'do the like; this is contrary to the Doctrin of the Church of *England* 'in her *Homilies.* — then he answers the usual objections for resistance, 'resolves several doubts, and removes other little scruples; and in the 'close of all, passionately advises all Men to return to the Lord, and to 'do their duty; for 'tis strange (says he) that God's Church can be 'no way preserved, the Subjects liberty no ways maintain'd, but by 'sin; who ever heard, unless from a Papist, that the way to Heaven 'was through Hell? *shall we do evil, that good may come? Rom.* 3. 8.

p. 2, 3, &c.

P. 51.

It would be a very needless labor to cite all the passages to this purpose, that occur in the Books written between the year 1644. and the time

time of the King's Murther, and therefore I ſhall refer the Reader to the Regal *Apology* Printed 1648. *the Kingdoms brief anſwer to the Declaration of the Commons.* Pr. 1648. *the Plea for the King and Kingdom* 1648. with many other Treatiſes of the ſame kind; only I ſhall mention Biſhop *Rainbowe*, who took the degree of Doctor of Divinity *An.* 1646. when his chief Queſtion (on which he made his *Theſis*) was, *Eccleſia Anglicana tenet omnia ad ſalutem neceſſaria*; a point, 'which he durſt 'defend in the worſt of times, when that Church was ſo much oppreſs'd 'for aſſerting her Loyalty to God, and the King, for her agreement 'with the Primitive Church in not rebelling againſt the lawful Magi-'ſtrate, and in owning the *Jus Divinum* of Epiſcopal Hierarchy and 'Liturgy. Vid. Biſh. *Rainbow's* life, p. 41.

To what is quoted out of Mr. *Edw. Symmons's Vindication* of King *Charles* in the firſt part of this Hiſtory, let theſe Paſſages be added. —— *by virtue of the Canon* (Romanus Epiſcopus) *ſay the* Jeſuits, *the Pope hath power to depoſe Kings, be they Heretical or Catholick, of vicious or virtuous lives, if in his judgment he finds them unfit, and ſome others more capable of Government*; *and do not theſe Men believe the Authority of Parliament to be as irreſiſtible, as that of the Pope, and their Votes to be as full of virtue, as his Canons, and altogether as authentick, even to the depoſing of Kings, and diſpoſing of their Kingdoms,* —— *have they not looſen'd People from their* Oath of Allegiance *to the King, and then put them in Arms, perſuading them, that 'tis no Rebellion to fight againſt him.* —— *the next thing they mention* (*wherein they triumph indeed, and glory*) *is* their late extraordinary ſucceſs in the Field; *ſome perhaps may wonder, how theſe three can agree together,* great ſufferings, ſtrange patience, and extraordinary good ſucceſs, —— *proſperity and good ſucceſs, which of old went current only among the Papiſts, for a note of the true Church, is now admitted alſo by theſe Men, to be a ſpecial mark of the goodneſs of their Cauſe*; *but in regard, our Religion hath hitherto taught, that* ſufferings *and* patience, *were rather the marks of Chriſt's true Flock, than extraordinary ſucceſs in the World, therefore,* &c. —— *theſe two names of* ſuffering *and* patience, *ſhall from henceforth be rejected, and wholly diſclaimed, as infallible marks of* Loyalty *and* Malignity, —— *ſucceſs is the weakeſt Argument, that can be alledged to prove the goodneſs of a Cauſe, and the wickedeſt Men have moſt uſed it.* —— this Book was written *Anno* 1645. tho not publiſhed till the year 1648. Sect 4. p. 46. v. p. 47. Sect. 16. p. 160, 161. P. 168. *conſ. loc.*

CHAP. VII.

The History of Passive Obedience *under King* Charles II. *&c.*

SECT. I.

WHen the execrable Parricide was committed on the Martyr *Charles*, and his Family driven into Exile, this Truth did not want its Confessors, tho they smarted bitterly for owning it; of which number Mr. *Sheringham* publish'd his accurate treatise of the *King's Supremacy*, wherein (as he says in his *Introduction*) he exposes, and confutes those Principles and Grounds, whereby the Rebels endeavour'd to justifie the War against the King; the first of which was, *that it was lawful for the People to resist their Sovereign, and Supreme Governors, by force of Arms, in case they be Tyrants, and bent to subvert the Laws, and Religion establish'd; or by illegal Proceedings invade the Lives, Estates, or Liberties of their Subjects:* This dangerous position, he fully and learnedly confutes in his Book, proving the Supremacy of our Kings, and that they are neither coordinate, nor subordinate to the People, both by the Statute and common Law of this Land, and clearly answers all the objections, from either reason or authority, concluding all with this remarkable saying, *To speak my desires, I wish unfeignedly the Salvation of* P. 118. ☞ *all the* pretended Parliamentarians; *but to speak my thoughts, I conceive more hopes of the honest* Heathen, *than of any Man, that shall dye a* Rebel, *or not make* restitution, *as far as he is able, of all that he hath gained by oppression and injustice.*

Sermon 3. p. 106, 107. Vid. Serm. 2. p. 60, 81. Mr. Allington in his *Grand Conspiracy.* Caiaphas *pleaded the exigencies of the State for the Murther of our Saviour, and which of us is there, that hath not a* Caiaphas *in his bosom? Which of us is there, that doth not rather consider the expediency, than the justice of an action? which of us do not consider, whether what we do be not rather secure, than conscionable? —— Men, who will sacrifice both Judgment, Loyalty, Conscience, and all Honesty,* P. 115, 116. *to avoid an inconvenience. —— it is a Law much commended in this Land of ours, that no Man shall be tryed but by his Peers; now a King must be above the judgment of his Subjects, because among them he can have no Peers. ——*

Sermon 4. p. 179. *such an heir (as Christ was in the Parable,* Luc. 20. 14.) *could not be robb'd of his Birth-right, nor deprived of his Inheritance, but it must be done with* violence,

violence, *and that violence could never had hands enough without an* Aſſociation, —— *the Husbandman without any mask of Religion, or cloak of Godlineſs, without any pretence of freeing themſelves from Tyranny, Arbitrary Government, or any manner of Oppreſſion; they declare clearly (what more ſubtle Rebels would not) that the reaſon they proſecute, bought, arraign'd, and kill'd the heir, it merely was for his Inheritance* that the Inheritance may be ours; *this Lord had power to call the Labourers, but the Labourers had none to call him to account.* p. 205. P. 208, and P. 210, 211.

Anno 1651. Mr. *Jane* (Father to the preſent *Regius Profeſſor* at *Oxon*, if I am rightly informed) Printed his Anſwer to *Miltons Iconoclaſtes*, and in it fully, and on all occaſions avers this truth. 'It is hateful in 'any to deſcant on the misfortunes of Princes, but in ſuch as have re- 'lation to them by Service or Subjection, (as the Libeller *Milton* to the 'late King) is the compendium of all unworthineſs, and unnatural In- 'ſolence, —— had His Majeſty's faults been as palpable, as this Author's 'falſhood, it could not diminiſh his Subjects duty, nor excuſe the Re- 'bels impiety. —— Rebels never wanted pretenſions, but liberty and 'juſtice, were the common masks of ſuch Monſters; ſo this Man will 'have the World believe —— Rebellion is dearer to this Author, than 'Religion, and he will rather commend ſuperſtitious actions of a blind 'Age, and the very dregs of Popery, than want an ingredient to the 'varniſh of that horrid ſin. —— Superſtitious Churchmen had their 'hands in the old Rebellions, and in our days we find, they have Suc- 'ceſſors, that teach the People *Doctrins of Devils*, and ſeduce them from 'Obedience to thoſe, that had the rule over them. — *Obedience* and '*Sufferings* are the ſervility and wretchedneſs, which *Milton* calls the '*Pulpit ſtuff of the Prelates*; we may ſhortly expect, that as theſe Miſ- 'creants have altered State and Church, ſo they will compoſe an *Index* '*Expurgatorius of the Bible*; for it cannot be imagined, that they will 'object this heinous crime of Preaching *Paſſive Obedience* to the Prelates, 'and leave ſo many places in the Goſpel, which command it; and them- 'ſelves need not the Goſpel to make Men obedient: they have the '*Sword*, and this *Ceremony of Religion* is aboliſh'd, — if righteouſneſs 'conſiſts in blaſpheming God, contempt of his Ordinances, and ſcorn- 'ing the Doctrin, and practice of his Saints, theſe Men may lay ſome 'claim to it. —— are they greater practiſers of *ſelf-denyal*, who Preach 'War, and Blood, rather than obey, than thoſe who Preach *Paſſive* '*Obedience*, and *Suffering* rather than violence. —— *Milton* is very indu- 'ſtrious to find out cauſes, why ſo many would not be Traytors? why 'could he not fall into the conſideration of the Oaths of Allegiance 'and Supremacy, that all Members of Parliament take at their entrance? '— how did he forget the commands of Obedience from God? — *re-* Exam. of the Pref. p. 5. v. p. 11 P. 28, v. p. 34. P. 36, 37. P. 39. P. 47. P. 48, 49. P. 55. P. 59.

'*pentance* is a great reproach among thoſe Rebels, the Preaching of that
P. 64. 'Doctrin is worſe to them, than *Paſſive Obedience.* —— It is ridiculous
'to any judgment uninthral'd, that ſuch as Rebel againſt their King
P. 66. 'ſhould pretend, they are not Rebels to God. —— Chriſtians never
'thought, that any ſword drawn againſt their King, did not violate
'their Loyalty and Allegiance, much leſs that their profeſs'd Loyalty,
'and Allegiance led them to direct Arms againſt the King's Perſon.

Medit. on death. p. 257, 258. There are many ſuch Paſſages in the Book, but I ſhall only quote one more towards the end of it. 'Kings have their Power from God, 'and God gives the Sword, yea even to wicked Kings, and becauſe the 'Power is given them for juſtice, it is called the Sword of Juſtice, tho 'they uſe it oftentimes to injuſtice, —— the Scripture forbids us to judge 'another Man's Servant, but this Man will have the Father puniſh'd by 'the Child, the Maſter by the Servant, the Prince by the People. —— 'Kings are *unaccountable* to Men for their actions —— for if Kings be 'accountable to Men, are not they, to whom he is accountable, by the 'Libellers argument not only ſtronger than the King, but ſtronger than
P. 260. 'Juſtice? —— divine law forbad all Men to take the Arms of juſtice, 'without, or againſt the King, who is referred to God's juſtice, and 'juſtice hath no Arms, but his power. — the Law was above the Em-
P. 262 v. *loc.* & p. 263. 'peror *Theodoſius*, in regard it was his rule, but could not make any Per-'ſon or Society above him. —- it were a profane Oath, as well as vain, 'that ſhould be void at the will of the Father. —— this laſt Age hath 'brought forth a generation, that do God ſervice, when they ſcorn all 'his Laws, and Religion, *&c:*

SECT. II.

Biſhop *Sanderſon* in his cenſure of *Aſcham*'s Book Printed at *London* 1650. *Upon peruſal of Mr.* Aſcham's *Book you left with me, I find not my ſelf in my underſtanding thereby, convinc'd of the* neceſſity, or lawfulneſs of conforming unto, or complying with an unjuſt prevailing Power, *further than I was before perſwaded, it might be lawful or neceſſary ſo to do,* viz. *As paying Taxes, and ſubmitting to ſome other things (in themſelves not unlawful) by them impoſed or required, ſuch as I had a lawful Liberty to have done in the ſame manner, tho they had not been ſo commanded, and ſeem to me in the conjuncture of preſent circumſtances, prudentially neceſſary to preſerve my ſelf, or my Neighbour from the injuries of thoſe, that would be willing to make uſe of my Non-ſubmiſſion, to mine or his ruin; ſo as it be done with theſe Cautions.*

1. Without violation either of duty to God, or any other juſt obligation, *that lies upon me by Oath,* Law, or otherwiſe.

2. Only

2. Only in the caſe of *neceſſity* otherwiſe not to be avoided.

3. Without any *explicite, or implicite acknowledgment of the Juſtice and Legality of their Power*: I may ſubmit to the Δύναμις (to the Force) but not acknowledge the Ἐξουσία (the Authority) or by any *voluntary Act* give ſtrength, aſſiſtance, or countenance thereunto.

4. Without any prejudice unto the *claim of the oppreſſed Party, that hath a right Title*; or caſting my ſelf into an *incapacity of lending him my due, and bounden Aſſiſtance.* If in time to come, it may be uſeful to him towards the *recovery of his Right.*

5. Where I may *reaſonably, and Bond Fide* preſume the Oppreſſed Power, *(to whom my Obedience is juſtly due)* if he perfectly knew the preſent condition I am in, together with the exigency and neceſſity of the preſent caſe, and all the circumſtances thereof, *would give his willing conſent* to ſuch my conformity and compliance.

So that, upon the whole matter, and in ſhort, I conceive I may ſo far ſubmit unto the Impoſitions, or comply with the Perſons of a *prevailing Uſurped Power*, unjuſtly commanding things not in themſelves unlawful; or make uſe of their Power to protect me from others Injuries: As I may *ſubmit unto, comply with, or make uſe of an High-way Thief, or Robber*, when I am fallen into his hands, and lie at his mercy.

As for Mr. *Aſcham*'s Diſcourſe, tho it be handſomly framed, yet all the ſtrength of it to my ſeeming (if he would ſpeak out) would be in plain *Engliſh* this.

1. That Self-preſervation is the firſt and chiefeſt obligation in the World, to which all other Bonds and Relations (at leaſt between Man and Man) muſt give place.

2. That no Oath, at leaſt no impoſed Oath, in what Terms ſoever expreſs'd, binds the Taker further than he intended to bind himſelf thereby; and it is preſumed, that no Man intended to bind himſelf to the prejudice of his own ſafety.

Two dangerous and deſperate Principles, which evidently tend, *firſt*, to the taking away of all Chriſtian Fortitude and Suffering in a *Righteous Cauſe*. 2. To the encouraging of *Daring and Ambitious Spirits* to attempt continual Innovations, with this confidence, that if they can by any ways *(how unjuſt ſoever)* poſſeſs themſelves of the Supreme Power, they ought to be ſubmitted unto. 3. To the obſtructing unto the *Oppreſſed Party* all poſſible ways and means, without a Miracle, of ever *recovering that juſt Right*, of which he ſhall have been *unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed*: And (to omit further inſtancing) 4. To the bringing in of *Atheiſm*, with the contempt of God, and all Religion, whilſt every Man, by making his own *Preſervation* the Meaſure of all his Duties and Actions, maketh himſelf thereby his own *Idol*.

The

The ſame excellent Caſuiſt is of this mind in *his Caſe of* the engagement (*the bond of Allegiance (whether ſworn, or not ſworn) is in the nature of it perpetual, and indiſpenſible*, &c.) and his Fifth Lecture of the *Obligation of Conſcience*, to which, for the ſake of brevity, I refer the Reader.

Vid. loc. Sect. 11, 13,14,16, 17,20,21.

SECT. III.

To this Eminent Biſhop, I ſhall joyn the Eminent Judge *Jenkins*, *To depoſe the King, or take him by force, or Impriſon him, until he hath yielded to certain demands, is adjudged Treaſon in the Lord* Cobham's *Caſe,— the Law makes not the Servant greater than the Maſter, nor the Subject greater than the King, for that were to ſubvert order and meaſure.* —— *it is High Treaſon by the Law of the Land to levy War againſt the King, to compaſs, or imagine his death,* &c. *follow the Monition, and Counſel of the Lord* Cook (3. *part Inſtit. p.* 36.) *peruſe over all Books, Records, and Hiſtories, and you ſhall find a Principle in Law, a Rule in reaſon, and a Tryal in experience, that Treaſon doth ever produce fatal, and final deſtruction to the Offender, and never attains to the deſired end (two incidents inſeparable thereunto) and therefore let all Men abandon it, as the poyſonous bait of the Devil, and follow the Precept in Holy Scripture,* Serve God, Honour the King, and have no Company with the Seditious.

Jenkins Redivivus Lon. 1681 p. 20, 21. P. 81. P. 141.

Dr. *Stewart* in his Sermon Preach'd at *Paris*, called *Hezekiah's Reformation*; *he can be no Martyr for the firſt Table of the Law, who is in the ſame deed a tranſgreſſor of the ſecond*; *nor will God at all thank him, as a Reformer of his Church, who in the ſelf-ſame act is no leſs than a Traytor to his Deputy*; *ſo that as for Subjects to take up Arms againſt their Kings is by the Doctrin of St.* Peter, *and St.* Paul *in all caſes damnable*; *ſo eſpecially to do this in point of our Religion, which ſo much commends and bleſſes Patience, and Sufferings, and Martyrdom*; *either upon pretence to plant it, where now it is not, or to reform it, where it hath been planted, is of all other kinds of contentions, or Wars moſt* Turkiſhly Antichriſtian. —— Rabſhakeh *himſelf was grown ſo much a Divine, as to aver openly, that he, who puts his hand to overturn that Religion he profeſſes, yea that puts his hand to overturn it too at the ſame time, while he likes it, pretend what he will, he truſts not in God, he truſts perhaps in the* Syrians, *or in* Ægypt.

P. 38,39. P. 54.

To what is quoted in the firſt part of this Hiſtory out of Biſhop *Brownrig*'s Sermons, may be added a remarkable Paſſage or two of his life, recorded by Biſhop *Gauden*, the firſt that having Preach'd at *Cambrige*, that Chriſtians had neither Chriſt's Precept, nor any good Chriſtians practice to reſiſt their Sovereign Princes, but that there was only left them the choice to obey actively or paſſively, to do or ſuffer, he was imme-

P. 183, 186,187.

immediatly for this Doctrin proscribed, *and outed of his places in the University, and deprived of his liberty, and put in Prison; the second, that when* O. P. *with some shew of respect to him, demanded his judgment in some publick Affairs, then at a non-plus*; his Lordship with his wonted gravity, and freedom replyed: My Lord, *the best counsel I can give you, is that of Our Saviour, render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and unto God, the things that are Gods*; with which free answer O. P. rested rather silenc'd than satisfied.

There are many observations worth the noting made by Bishop *Hacket* on this Subject, in his Sermon on the day of the Coronation of King *Charles* I. on *Ps.* 118. 24. but I refer the Reader to the Discourse it self, while I relate what is recorded of him in his life written by Dr. *Plume*; *that in the time of the great Rebellion, no Man Preach'd more* P. 17. *boldly against the licentiousness of those times, than he, challenging the bouteseu's to shew, where ever the Scripture gave countenance to Uproars and Rebellions.* Julian *the Apostate reading the Bible with a malicious intention to quarrel at it, said, that Christianity was a Doctrin of too much patience, but he could never find any place in it to object, that it was a Doctrin of Rebellion. If the administration of a Kingdom be out of frame, it is better to leave the redress to God, than to a seditious Multitude; the way to continue purity of Religion, being not by Rebellion, but by Martyrdom; to resist lawful Powers by seditious Arms, and unlawful Authority was not the Primitive, and Apostolical Christianity, but Popish Doctrin, not taught the first three hundred years, but much about a thousand years after Our Saviour's Ascension into Heaven by the Pope of* Rome, *the very time, the Spirit of God says,* Satan should be let loose, *viz. by* Gregory VII. *who first taught the* Germans *to rebel against the Emperor* Henry IV. —— *this poyson was given the* English *People to drink out of the Papal cup, tho they pretended quite contrary; but Bishop* Hacket *ever asserted, this was not the way to pull down* Antichrist, *but Protestant Religion; and therefore he warn'd the Non-conforming Divines to have a care, how they cryed up a War, and became famous in the Congregation only, as* Erostratus, *by setting the Temple on fire.*

SECT. IV.

Thus the truth was asserted in the days of distress, till God was in his infinite mercy pleased to restore the King, under whom the Confessors for Loyalty, who had during his Exile Preach'd this truth by their sufferings, asserted it as vigorously from the Pulpit and Press; and among them the most Reverend Primate Dr. *Sancroft* challenges an Eminent Station, who in his most Learned Sermon, Preached at the Consecration of Seven Bishops, comparing the State of our Native Country with

that

that of the Iſland of *Crete*, adds, 'have we not outvyed the *Cretans*, lyed
P. 31. 'for God's ſake, and talk'd deceitfully for him? what pious frauds, and holy
'cheats? what ſlandering the footſteps of God's Anointed, when the
'Intereſt was to blacken him? — *Pliny* hath obſerv'd it, *nullum animal*
'*maleficum in Cretâ*, and *Solinus* adds, *nec ullæ ſerpens*; but they ſhould
'have excepted the Inhabitants. — and I wiſh there were no other
'Iſland, could ſhew Vipers too many, that have eat out the Bowels of
'their common Mother, and flown in the face of their Political Fa-
'ther, without whoſe benigner influence their chill, and benumm'd
'fortunes had not warmth enough to raiſe them to ſo bold an attempt.
' — fulneſs of bread was alſo one of their ſins, and now I cannot
'wonder, if it be obſerv'd from the Records of Hiſtory (as *Grotius* aſ-
'ſures us, who knew them well) that the *Cretans* were (and I wiſh,
'there were no other ſuch) a mutinous, and a ſeditious People, and
'had but too much need to be put in mind by *Titus* to be *ſubject to Prin-*
'*cipalities and Powers, and to obey Magiſtrates.*

Id. lex ig-
nea p. 15. 'The Devil of Rebellion and Diſobedience, which not long ſince
'poſſeſs'd the Nation, rent and tore it, till it foam'd again, and pin'd
'away in lingring Conſumptions; that caſt it oft-times into the Fire,
'and oft-times into the Water, (calamities of all ſorts) to deſtroy it —
'this ill ſpirit, this reſtleſs fury (this unquiet and dreadful *Alaſtor*, the
'Eldeſt Son of *Nemeſis*, and heir apparent to all the terrors and miſ-
'chiefs of his Mother) walks about day and night, ſeeking reſt, and
'finds none; and he ſays in his heart, I will return ſometime or other
'to my houſe, from whence I came out: Oh! let us take heed of pro-
'voking that God, who alone chains up his fury, leſt for our ſins he
'permit him to return once more, with ſeven other Spirits more wicked
'than himſelf, and ſo our laſt Eſtate prove worſe than the former.

Pr. 1661. P. 34. v. p. 14, 19, 21. Dr. *Morley* (Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s) Sermon, at the Coronation of King *Charles* II. is full to this purpoſe, —— 'as no Man can take upon
'himſelf the Honor, or Office of a Prieſt, ſo much leſs can any Man
'take to himſelf the Honor, or Office of a King; but he muſt have it
'from God himſelf, either by God's own immediate deſignation, as
'*Moſes* and the *Judges* had (for the *Judges* were Kings) and as *Saul*
'and *David* had; or by God's ordinary way of Diſpenſation, which
'was by Succeſſion of Children unto their Fathers; according unto
'which method, as Families grew into Nations, ſo Paternal Govern-
'ment grew into Regal; and conſequently an Uſurper, as he hath no
'claim to Divine Inſtitution, ſo he hath no title to Divine Benediction
'or Protection; and beſides, becauſe what is gotten by the Sword muſt
'be maintained by the Sword, an Uſurper muſt be a Tyrant, whether
'he will or no. Laſtly, a Monarchy by Uſurpation is *res ſine titulo*, a

poſſeſſion

'poſſeſſion without a title; which ſeldom laſts long, or ends well, for 'be that takes the Sword, ſhall periſh by the Sword, ſays Our Saviour: 'Mat. 26. 52.

'Again, as Monarchy by Uſurpation is *rei ſine titulo*, ſo Monarchy 'by Election is *titulus ſine re*, for Elective Kings are but conditional 'Kings, and conditional Kings are no Kings; beſides, a King is to P. 35. 'have the power of life and death, which none, that have it not them-'ſelves, can give unto him; and therefore how he, that is Elected by 'thoſe, that have not the power of life and death, comes to have the 'power of life and death, and conſequently how he comes to be a King 'is, I conceive, not eaſie to imagine; the beſt and ſureſt way for Prince, P. 38. 'State, and People, is to protect, cheriſh, and allow of that Religion, 'and that only, which allows of no riſing up againſt, or reſiſting So-'vereign Power, *no not in its own defence, nor upon any other pretence what-'ſoever*; —— but tho Princes are called *Gods*, yet they *ſhall die like Men*, P. 46. 'ſays one, that was a Prince himſelf *Pſ.* 82. 7. and tho they be account-'able to no Tribunal here, yet they are to be judged hereafter by one, 'who is no reſpecter of Perſons. ———a Prince therefore is to take care 'to govern himſelf, not according to that licence, which his exemption 'from the penalty of humane Laws may prompt him to, but according 'to that ſtrictneſs, which the ſeverity of the Divine Juſtice doth require 'of him.

The ſame Prelate in his Vindication of himſelf againſt *Baxter*, among P. 29, &c. *Baxter*'s Maxims of Treaſon, Sedition, and Rebellion reckons theſe. 'That unlimited Governors are Tyrants, and have no right to that un-'limited Government: If God permits Princes to turn ſo wicked as to 'be uncapable of Governing, ſo as is conſiſtent with the ends of Go-'vernment, he permits them to depoſe themſelves.

'If Providence diſableth a Prince from protecting the juſt, *&c.*—— 'it depoſeth him, if any Army (of Neighbours, Inhabitants, or whoe- P. 31. 'ver) do (tho injuriouſly) expel the Sovereign, and reſolve to ruin the 'Commonwealth, rather than he ſhall be reſtored; and if the Com-'monwealth may proſper without his Reſtoration, it is the duty of ſuch 'an injured Prince for the Common good to reſign his Government; 'and if he will not, the People ought to judge him as made uncapa-'ble by Providence, and not to ſeek his reſtitution to the apparent ruin 'of the Commonwealth.

'If a People, that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, ſhall P. 33. 'ſinfully diſpoſſeſs him, and contrary to their Covenants chuſe, and co-'venant with another, they may be obliged by their later Covenant, 'notwithſtanding their former; and particular Subjects, that conſented 'not in the breaking of their former Covenants; yet may be obliged by

'occasion of their later choice to the Person, whom they chuse. — with many more such Rebellious Treses, all which the Bishop with great reason censures, and to the Book it self, I must refer the Reader, where he will find ample satisfaction in a Manly confutation of the abovecited, and other such popular errors.

And among these venerable Fathers of the Church, I must beg leave to introduce a Lay-man, concern'd in the same controversie, for when *Baxter* had publish'd his *Key for Catholicks*, and in it p. 321. treated of the King's murder, of which he says, 'Providence had so order'd it, 'that it could not be laid on the Protestants, with much more to that purpose. *John Nanfan* Esq; in those worst of times, writes a censure of
P. 3. the Passage, and in it avers, 'that all War taken up by Subjects upon 'any pretence whatsoever, or by whatsoever caution or limitation, ever-'more, in the nature of it, intends the destroying of King and King-
P. 4. 'dom. — that all the bringing the People into a body by Covenant, is 'unlawful, because Government merely consists in having no contracts 'of the People acting of themselves, — that in such Covenants Men 'swear things contradictory, as to fight against the King, and to be 'true to him. — there is no such thing in nature, as a defensive War 'against the King by Subjects, — to subdue a King, and deprive him
P. 5. 'of his Power, is the same thing as killing, it stays but the acting —
P. 7. 'I should be very glad, that the World should be satisfied, that Su-'preme Power should be unquestionable; I would trust God and Man, 'and Humane casual events with my share out of it, because I see, pre-'tended Reformations never countervail the mischief of Rebellions.—
P. 9. 'nothing in nature can go higher than its first cause; a Power de-'rived out of the King, cannot be understood to be against the King,
P. 10, 11. 'for no Power can create a Power against it self. — all attempts to bring
‖*Cambd. Annal.* 'a King under the Power of his People, are the same as to destroy him;
P. 547, 548. 'and this was resolved in the case of the Earl of ‖*Essex*; — and it ne-'ver came into the conceit of any Person to except a Parliament for 'committing Treason. — the nature of Man is, to think any thing that
P. 12. 'hath been done, may be done, and so never finds end of wickedness, 'but to make it infinite; any extraordinary or transcendent acting upon 'Government, tho never so unlawful and violent; yet if it become 'powerful, it commonly creates somthing to others to derive from it: thus the Long Parliament declared long before that execrable murder was committed, 'that in case they should act to the highest president, 'they should not fail in duty or trust; having their eye and aim upon 'the deposing of Kings, *Edw.* 2. and *Ric.* 2. and the last actors that 'completed the Tragedy, conclude power of *Parliaments*, from former 'destroying Kings, and setting up others. — the deposition of *Edw.* 2.

was

'was as horrid Treason, as was imaginable or possible to be in nature;
'and does doing wickedly create a lawfulness? if so, all sins and villa-
'nies by the perpetrating them lose their natures to be evils, and be-
'come lawful. —— wickedness can be no president, —— no such thing p. 16.
'as Government can be, if the governed may judge and execute their
'Governor. —— I wonder how Mr. *Baxter* can dispense with the Scri-
'ptures, against using force to Kings or destroying them; his distin-
'ction of Parliamentary right, will not serve the turn, since it is abso-
'lutely forbidden, as is proved from *Exod.* 22. 28. *Exr.* 6. 10. *Ps.* 51. 4.
'*Eccl.* 10. 20. *Prov.* 24. 21. 1 *Sam.* 26. 9. *Rom.* 13. 1 *Tim.* 2. 1 *Pet.* 2. P. 19.
'13, 17. which texts (having some of them a relation to very Tyrants)
'shew directly, the nature of supreme Governors, to be born by the
'People, whatsoever their condition be, —— to call them *Gods* is an
'exemption from all humane Tribunals, above the condition of Man-
'kind, subject to God only, as Supreme Governors cannot in nature be
'other. —— I think that God would take it ill, that we should mock him, p. 20.
'to set up a King to govern, and then to reserve a Power to destroy ☜
'him. —— God doth sometimes give evil Governors, and doth he not p. 22.
'likewise give them power? God himself forespake in *Saul*, and then
'concluded the People, in these words, 1 *Sam.* 8. 18. *then. i. e.* when
'they were oppressed by their King, *shall they cry out. i. e.* seek help of
'God (because there are no humane remedies, as *Grotius* expounds it)
'and *call to God for help. i. e.* there was no means of resistance to be used
'on their part. —— Kings were, when *Parliaments* were not; we can- P. 23.
'not suppose here in *England* any time of Government without Kings;
'the Parl. therefore was a creature merely of the King's will and crea-
'ting, the King is the sole judge of the safety, or danger of the Repub- p. 27.
'lick —— Supremacy is the sole governing Power, and Government is p. 53.
'a constant being, the other (that of Parl.) but at times, and by occa-
'sion. —— that must needs be a strange Government, where the Sove- p. 54.
'reignty is divided; and lying in divers powers, when they differ, the
'People are distracted in their obedience. —— therefore the 11. of
'*Henr.* 7. was made to avoid the mischief of a divided commanding
'Power, tho it be a gross Law, and against truth many times, because ☜
'Usurpers did possess the Throne. —— it is not possible to fansie govern-
'ing power, with a power in the People, or any Party out of the King to p. 57.
'resist his power; for then he should govern no longer, than the go- ☜
'verned Party were disposed to obey, and so no Government at all. ——
'there can be no such thing, as a conquest of Subjects over their King; p. 64.
'it is Desertion or Treason, not Conquest. —— there is no footstep, or p. 65.
'mark from God of the Peoples title over Kings, or their making them,
'or giving them their Power. —— Parliaments have declared for titles, p. 69.

'but never can make any, nor deprive right; it is true, divers Uſurpers
'have had *Parliament* Teſt for their Warrant, for thoſe have moſt need
'of it, but ſtill it was acted under power enforcing, and ſo it was no-
P. 70. 'thing, but merely ſo long as the Power laſted. —— Conqueſt is only
'a great Riot, and multiplying of Rapines and Man-ſlaughters, it is
'all wickedneſs, which is only diſtinguiſh'd from common wickedneſs,
'as it tranſcends all other actings of Wickedneſs; and ſuch is conqueſt
'by exceſs of Wickedneſs, to make it ſelf above offending and puniſh-
'ment; and if ſo, then it cannot be in the ſubmiſſion of the People,
'who are firſt conquer'd, before they conſent —— none of theſe things
'make right; for if the outed Prince can recover, and regain power,
'theſe things vaniſh as unlawful; ——one inſtance with us in *England*
'of ſixty years diſcontinuance, yet when it recovered power to act, all
'the Uſurpation went for nothing, and the old came in as Right, not
'as Conqueſt.

SECT. V.

P. 49, 50. Biſhop *Wren* in his *abandoning of the Scotch Covenant. God diſpoſed of the Kingdom of* Abiah, *but otherwiſe by Man it could never elſe have been done rightly, nor would it ever have held; no Man, not all the Men in the Kingdom (whatſoever is told you of the Power of the People, by thoſe, that worſhip that many headed Monſter) had Power or Authority, to alter* that Covenant of God with *David, more than they had to alter that* Covenant of day and night in their Seaſons, *ſays God himſelf, if Men would believe him.* Jer. 33. 21. *they were never to meddle with it, unleſs God himſelf gave order expreſly in it.*

Biſhop Laney. *We were in a ſad caſe not long ſince in this Kingdom by a*
Sermon at *Whitehall Mar.* 18. 166½. p. 19, &c. *Civil War. —— they Covenanted, firſt to extirpate the Government of the Church, in this they were too bold with the King's Scepter; at the next turn they take hold of his Sword too, and engage themſelves to a mutual defence againſt all oppoſition, —— tho a ſelf defence may be allowed, as natural to all, it is againſt private, not publick oppoſition, and then too, as Divines generally reſolve,* Cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ, *never to the hurt of others; every Man may defend himſelf* clypeo, *but not every one* gladio, *the Sword is the Kings, and he that takes it from any hand but his, where God hath placed it, ſhall periſh with the Sword.*

Serm. No. 5. 1673. p. 14, 20, 25. *Biſhop* Pearſon *aggravating the ſin of the* Gunpowder Traytors, *ſays,* Touch not mine Anointed, *is the voice of God — nor* muſt we do evil, that good may come thereof, ſuch Mens damnation is juſt. —— *I cannot chuſe but remember thoſe words, which I read ſo frequently in the Scriptures,* God ſave the King, God ſave the King; *God ſave him from the*

open

open Rebellion of the Schismatical Party, the ruin of his Father; God save him from the secret Machinations of the Papal Faction, the danger of his Grand-father. God save the King, *and let all the People say,* Amen.

SECT. VI.

Francis Lord Bishop of *Ely*, hath frequently asserted the same great truth. —— *The Church of* Rome's Fifth-Monarchy-Men (*assertors, I mean, of the Papal Universal Monarchy*) *in the Murder of* Conradine *King of* Naples, *and* Sicily; *were beforehand with our* Fanaticks, *and taught the Art of killing a King ceremoniously,* ——*the Life and Person of the King, his Office, his Crown, and Dignity ought to have been inviolable, and sacred in the Eyes of all his Subjects.* — *if he be the soul of the Nation, then it follows, that his Power is derived from above, and is held from none under Heaven,* — *and as none but God can judge both Soul and Body, so none but God is a competent judge of the King.* —— David *spake by the Spirit of God to the* Amalekite, wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thy hand against the Lord's Anointed? *What! afraid of a conquer'd King, unable to defend himself, much less afford protection to any Subject? is not that enough to Unking him? yes, if we owe him least assistance, when he needs it most.* ——*tho flying, nigh breathless, panting, and gazing round to beg his death of some friendly hand, he was formidable, he was sacred still, for still he had a signal impress of the Deity upon him.* —— *I will only put the case of* Julian the Apostate *Emperor; after so clear conviction, after so full instruction, as he had in the Christian Religion, having, as some* Historians *report, taken one of the lower* Orders *in the Clergy, before he came to the Throne; after all this he renounc'd his Baptism, he turn'd a very plague to the Church, he proved the most formidable Persecutor, that is, a tempter of his Christian Subjects to Apostasie: he offended with that* malicious wickedness, *that the Catholick Church, and all her guides justly supposed, he had committed the unpardonable* sin against the Holy Ghost; *they look'd upon him as one, that had cut himself off from their body with the greatest Excommunication, even to* Anathema Maranatha. *i. e. till the Lord come to judgment; now in this case was it lawful for Christians to cast him off, that had so openly, and maliciously cast off his Christianity? We have the judgment of the whole Church to the contrary; they thought themselves obliged by St.* Paul's *Apostolical Canon,* to make prayers and supplications *even for him, that whatsoever he was, and howsoever he behav'd himself towards them, they might still* lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty; *and they had the Grace, they pray'd for, they did live peaceably under him, they never took upon them to Unking him, they drew out no Forces against him, but only their* thundring Legion *of prayers and tears.*

‖Serm. bef. the King Jan. 30. 168$\frac{2}{1}$. p. 13. P. 17. P. 18. P. 20. P. 23, 24.

St. *Paul.*

Id. Serm. before L. Mayor. *May* 7. 1682. p. 10 P. 11, 12. St. *Paul* exhorting to make prayers for all Men, for Kings, *&c. has left no room for any to evade it, as if he had foreseen, there would be a sort of Men (and they lived within our memories, Men) who instead of praying for their King, would learn to pray against him,* — there is a sin unto death, *saith St.* John, I do not say, that ye shall pray for it; *but St.* Paul *in my text hath provided even against this supposition, tho the* charity, that hopeth all things *were overcame, so that the spiritual welfare of a* Nero, &c. *were in a manner despair'd of, yet such Provision is made, that as their Prince, he was to be pray'd for still, that* they might lead a peaceable and quiet life; P. 13, 14, 15. *thus it was in the case of that impious Wretch* Licinius, &c. — *and if our lives ought to be answerable to our prayers (since* praying for peace, *is but mocking of God without* keeping the King's peace too,*) then let not any pretend to be good Christians, and sound Members of Christ's Church, unless they be also good Subjects.* — *my aim is against the Power of* Deposing Kings, *that has been often claimed by the Bishops of* Rome — *and there is another Party of Men, who have introduc'd a distinction of* taking Arms by the Kings Authority against his Person. — *whereas, whereseever the* P. 16, 17. *King's Person is, there is also his greatest Authority,* — *but they tell us, the Primitive Christians wanted not Authority and Right, but strength to resist the civil Powers; but did our Saviour want Power,* when he controuled evil spirits, and cast out devils — — *did he want Power then, when he commanded Universal nature, when even* the Winds and Seas obey'd him? &c. — *he had more than twelve Legions of Angels at his call; why did he not strike* Herod *or* Pilate, *but that he confesses himself Subject to him?* — P. 30, 31. *the Men, that first broke the Peace of the Church were the first, that gave the leading foul example of waging War against their lawful Prince, as did the* Novatians *of* Paphlagonia, *who fought with the* Arian *Emperor* Constantius's *Forces sent against them, to compel them to receive the* Arian *confession.*

Id. Serm. *Sept.* 9. 1683. p. 10 P. 17. *Such as will not trust in God, as a deliverer from any dangers they fear, but will take the Sword against their lawful Prince, upon any pretence whatsoever, their sentence is read in the words of our Blessed Saviour,* they that take the Sword, shall perish with the Sword, — *the* Jews *shedding innocent blood brought upon them a deluge of blood; and their second desolation under* Titus, *says* Josephus, *came upon them in the same month, on the same day of the month, that the former fell upon; and when by the* same division of Priests and Levites, *the same Divine Service was reading in course, viz. that* Psalm, *which was written in admiration of God's vindictive justice,* P. 24. O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, *&c.* — *there are complying Men, who resolve to thrive under all Governments* — *they are* animals incombustible for Religion *(as one defines them) and whatever interest prevails in the State, they laugh at the notion of being* State-Martyrs, —

honesty

honesty is true policy, unless Men mean to revive that old abominable Gnostick *Principle of complying with any Usurpations or Impositions, for fear of suffering.*

St. Paul *declares, their* damnation is just *and righteous, who persevere in charging the Blessed Gospel with admitting so cursed a Principle, as if it were lawful to do any one known evil, tho with an eye to the best, and noblest designs, and with an aim at no other consequences, but such as were most beneficial to the publick; — for this was no Apostolical Canon, but a maxim from Hell. — such Men are apt to conceit, that they have made themselves necessary, as if God Almighty could not do his work without them. — I have heard, that the case of* Jacob's wrestling with God, *was Preach'd upon to our late Great Usurper, and this Doctrin raised,* that God's *Jacobs,* or glorious Wrestlers with God, might for great ends do some things contrary to his declared Will, which things might yet be acceptable to his secret Will, and procure a blessing. — *'tis a* Jesuit's Salvo, that a Man of wit never sins against his conscience. — *we believe it a preposterous way of* securing our Religion, *by giving up the* peculiar Doctrin of our Church, *the Doctrin of Obedience unto Kings; and we judge it a strange means of barring out Popery, by letting in the Doctrin of translating, and disposing of Kingdoms.* ——— Id. Serm. Nov. 5. 1684. p. 5, 6. P. 10. P. 20. P. 27.

For a King and People to be happy, the King must have a right to his Kingdom, for how can an Usurper *expect to reign prosperly? — how miserable is a King and Kingdom, when every Man, that is but audacious enough, has a fair pretence, if he can but gather force, to overturn any settlement, that can be in such a case; such* a Pirate Prince *must be always exposed to Tempests. — King* Stephen *was none of our worst Princes, and one of the most valiant, but an* Intruder *he was, and he sped accordingly; his reign was the most turbulent of any, except that of King* John, *another Usurper,* &c. — *But be the title of a King, as good as a Warrant from Heaven can make it; be it so undoubted, as Hell it self can find no pretence to question it; be the King like an Angel of God* ——— *yet if his Subjects will be* Sons of Belial, Sons of the Devil; *so Rebels are called in Scripture, Men, that will bear no yoke, 'tis still in their power to be as miserable, as they please. — therefore, I commend your strict adherence to your former Protestations, and to* your Oaths of Allegiance. — *take heed of destroying your Country to build your own House — destruction, and death is not all you are like to get by it; take heed of that which follows, there is another death to come after; God has warn'd you of it,* they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation; *as you would avoid this, take heed of that which leads to it.* — thus that great Prelate, who, as it is justly said of him, in the whole course of his life, and in all the varieties of times, and fortune, still maintain'd his fidelity to his Prince in an illustrious manner. Id. Coron. Ser. April 23. 1685. p. 15, 16. P. 18. P. 27. ‖ Thom. Brown. Ep. præfi. conc. Jun. 11. 1687.

Sect.

SECT. VII.

And of this opinion was that great promoter of piety and learning, Bishop *Fell*, who having in his †*Sermon before the King*, asserted, *that nothing can be so unhappy, as Authority, when baffled, that the Coffee-house rebel is more mischievous, than he, that takes the Field, and that a Prince is sooner murdered with a Libel than a Sword*, and in his *Sermon before the Lords*, expresst his astonishment, *by what Enchantment (but that Rebellion is the sin of Witchcraft) Men should be perswaded to disturb their own, and the publick Peace, forfeit all the advantages, they enjoy in a settled Government, which cannot be so bad, as not to be much better than the confusion, which sedition brings, and run upon that sudden destruction, which the Wiseman says, is the end of those, who are given to change*, he continues to give the same advice in his *Sermon before the Sons of the Clergy*, wherein having told them, that a great part of them present were the Sons of the persecuted Clergy, ‖*a sort of Men, that hazarded their lives unto the death, and their Estates to the greater cruelty, and grave of sequestration for the cause of God, and of their Prince. He adds,* —— *'tis their glory, that in the day of trial they did all they pretended to, they forsook Father, and Mother, Houses, Brethren, and Sisters, and those more endearing names of Wife and Children,* ——*let it therefore be the strict concern of every one here present to maintain a faithful Loyalty to his Prince and Sovereign: It is the* peculiar ☞ glory of the Church of England, *that She, above all others, Principles her Children in Obedience to Superiors, and most supports the ends and interests of Government, which had so visible an effect in the late unhappy revolutions, that the Royal Martyr, who fell a Sacrifice to the misguided zeal of* ☞ *his rebellious Subjects, made it his observation, that none forfeited their duty to him, who had not first deserted their Obedience to the Church; nor can you any way more remarkably approve your selves to be Orthodox in your Religion, and good Sons of the Church, than if you are Loyal in your Principles, and good Subjects to the King.*

†On 2 *Pet.* 3.3. *Anno* 1675. p. 21,22. *Ox.* 1675.

*Dec. 22. 1680. p. 3, 4. on *Mat.* 12, 25. *Oxf.* 1680.

‖On *Act.* 3.16 p. 61, 63,68,69.

On the 23. of *June* of the same year Dr. *Thomas* Bishop of *Worcester* dyed, having two days before sent for a Reverend Divine, to whom, after he had discours'd an hour about the *new Oath of Allegiance*, which he thought altogether inconsistent with the Doctrin of the Church, and his former Oaths, he said; if my own heart deceive me not, and God's grace fail me not, I think, I could dye at a Stake, rather than take this Oath.

The Earl of *Clarendon* in his *Animadversions on Mr.* Cressy's *answer to the Dean of St.* Paul's, as a very competent witness, avers, 'that there 'were very few, who did so much as pretend to have a reverence for

P. 72.

the

'the *Church of England*, that were ever active in the *late Rebellion*; —— 'and that it were to be wiſh'd, rather than hop'd, that the Profeſſion 'of Chriſtian Religion in any Church had that impulſion in it, as it 'ought to have, that it preſerv'd the Profeſſors of it, from entring into '*Rebellion*, and the practice of any other iniquity. —— and ſpeaking of 'Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who ſign'd King *Edward* the Sixth's Will, he adds, 'if that *unhappy, and ill adviſed Queen* (who had juſt reaſon to be offend- P. 80. 'ed highly with that Archbiſhop) could have found, that the Law would 'have condemn'd him for Treaſon, ſhe rather deſired to have had him 'hang'd for a Traytor, than to have him burnt for his Religion—— 'but the Law would not extend to ſerve her turn that way; if it would, 'no body would have blamed her for having proſecuted him with the 'utmoſt rigor, whereas many good Men then did, and ſince have for 'proceeding the other way with him.

'—The Popes, who have aſſumed Authority to depoſe Princes, have P. 151, 'cauſed more Chriſtian blood to have been ſpilt, more horrible Maſſa- 152. 'cres of Kings, and Princes, and People, than all the Hereſies in the 'World, and all other politick differences have produced. — much the 'greateſt part of this deſtruction, and ruin proceeded from the *perjury* ☜ '*of Popes themſelves*, after they had promis'd, and ſworn to obſerve 'ſuch parts, and agreements voluntarily entred into by themſelves, or 'from the diſpenſation, they granted to others to break their faith, and 'not to perform the contracts, they had entred into.

The ſame noble Perſon, even when under the diſpleaſure of his Prince, and in Baniſhment, thought himſelf ſtill obliged to be unalterably Loyal, as he profeſſes in his Epiſtle to the King; 'I thank God, 'from the time I found my ſelf under the inſupportable burthen of your 'Majeſties diſpleaſure, and under the infamous brand of Baniſhment, 'I have not thought my ſelf *one minute* abſolved, *in the leaſt degree*, from 'the ſtricteſt duty to your Perſon.

And whereas T. *H.* (in his *Leviath.* p. 114.) had affirm'd, that *the obligation of Subjects to their Sovereign is underſtood to laſt as long, and no longer, than the Power laſts to protect them*; 'he rejoins, hereby he gives P. 90. 'Subjects leave to withdraw their obedience from their Sovereign, when 'he hath moſt need of their aſſiſtance; ſo that aſſoon as any Town, 'City, or Province of any Prince's Dominions, is invaded by a Foreign 'Enemy, or poſſeſs'd by a rebellious Subject, that the Prince cannot 'for the preſent ſuppreſs the Power of the one or the other, the People 'may lawfully reſort to thoſe, *who are over them*, and for their prote- 'ction perform all the Offices and Duties of good Subjects to them; 'whereas the duty of Subjects is, and all *good Subjects* believe they owe 'another kind of Duty and Obedience to their Sovereign, than to

'withdraw their ſubjection, becauſe he is oppreſt; and will *prefer poverty, and death* it ſelf, before they will *renounce obedience to their natural Prince*, or do any thing, that may advance the ſervice of his Ene-
P. 92. 'mies, —— ſurely this *woful deſertion, and defection*, which hath always 'been held criminal by all Law, that hath been current in any part of 'the World, hath received ſo much countenance, and juſtification by
☞ 'Mr. *Hobbs*'s Book, that CROMWELL *found the ſubmiſſion to thoſe Prin-* 'ciples produc'd a ſubmiſſion to him; and the *imaginary relation between* 'protection, and allegiance, ſo poſitively proclaim'd by him, prevailed for 'many years to extinguiſh all viſible fidelity to the King, whilſt he per-'ſuaded many to take the *Engagement*, as a thing lawful, and to become
P. 135, 136. 'Subjects to the *Uſurper*, as to their legitimate Sovereign. — *Kings* 'themſelves can never be puniſh'd for their caſual, or wilful errors and 'miſtakes, let the conſequences of them be what they will; but if 'they, who maliciouſly lead, or adviſe, or obey them in unjuſt reſolu-'tions and commands, were to have the ſame indemnity, there muſt 'be a diſſolution of all Kingdoms and Governments; but as Kings muſt 'be left to God, whoſe Vicegerents they are, to judge of their breach 'of truſt, ſo they, who offend againſt the Law, muſt be left to the
P. 163. 'puniſhment, the Law hath provided for them. — if all Sovereigns be 'ſubject to the Laws of Nature, becauſe ſuch Laws are divine, and can-'not by any Man, or Commonwealth be abrogated, they then are obli-'ged to obſerve, and perform thoſe Laws, which themſelves have made, 'and promis'd to obſerve; for violation of faith is againſt the Law of
☞ 'Nature: Nor doth this obligation ſet *any Judge over the Sovereign*, nor 'doth any Civil Law pretend, that *there is any power to puniſh him*; it is 'enough, that in juſtice he ought to do it, and that there is *a Sovereign* 'in Heaven above him, tho not on earth.

To this great Miniſter of State I ſhould join Sir *Robert Filmer*, but that it is needleſs, the Enemies of the unaccountableneſs of Kings, having branded him with the mark of a State Heretick for his Orthodox Opinions, which among all good Men make his Memory reverend, and his works Eminent, to which I adviſe the Reader to make his recourſe, particularly his ſhort, but excellent Treatiſe of the *Power of Kings*, &c. See alſo Sir *William Dugdale*'s *Preface to his view of our late troubles*, &c.

The Late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Lake*, having *Aug.* 27. 1689. received the Sacrament on his Death-bed, did in the preſence of Dr. *Hicks* Dean of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Green* and ſome others, make this proteſtation, *being* (as himſelf worded it) *ingaged in the moſt ſacred and ſolemn act of converſing with God, not knowing to the contrary, but that he might appear with thoſe very words in his mouth at the dreadful Tribunal. That I was*

See the Paper, and the vindication of it.

Baptized

'Baptized into the Religion of the Church of *England*, and ſucked it 'in with my Milk: I have conſtantly adhered to it through the whole 'courſe of my life, and now, if ſo be the will of God, ſhall dye in it, 'and had reſolved, through Gods Grace aſſiſting me, to have dyed ſo, 'tho at a Stake. And whereas that Religion of the Church of *England* 'taught me the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*, and *Paſſive Obedience*, which 'I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the 'diſtinguiſhing Character of the Church of *England*, I adhere no leſs ☜ 'firmly, and ſtedfaſtly to that, and in Conſequence of it, have incur- 'red a Suſpenſion from the exerciſe of my Office, and exſpected a 'Deprivation. I find in ſo doing much inward ſatisfaction, and if the 'Oath had been tendred at the peril of my life, I could only have 'obeyed by ſuffering, *&c.*

Manu propriâ Subſcripſit

Jo. Ciceſtrenſis.

To this great Man I ſhould add his boſome Friend, Dr. *Alleſtrey*, who ſpeaks fully, and conſonant to ſound Doctrine on this Head; but I muſt refer the Reader to his Sermon, *Novemb.* 5. 1665. on *Luc.* 9. 55. Vol. 1. p. 127. and Vol. 2. p. 60. and p. 253, 276.

Thus the acute Dr. *Sherlock*. 'Some Men pretend great Oppreſſion, Serm. on 'and Male-Adminiſtration of Government, though their licentious Pſ. 18. 50. 'noiſes, and clamors ſufficiently confute it; for Men, who are moſt p. 2. 'oppreſt, dare ſay the leaſt of it. The Liberties and Properties of the 'Subject, is an admirable pretence to deprive the Prince of his Liberties 'and Properties. —— Others make Religion the pretence for their Re- 'bellion: Religion, the greateſt, and the deareſt Intereſt of all; but, 'methinks, it is a dangerous way for Men to Rebel to ſave their Souls, 'when God hath threatned damnation againſt thoſe who Rebel. —— No 'Men fight for Religion, who have any. Religion is a quiet, peacea- 'ble, governable thing: it teaches Men to ſuffer patiently, but not to 'Rebel. —— It is evident it is not Religion, ſuch Men are zealous for, 'but a liberty in Religion; *i. e.* that every one may have his liberty to be 'of any Religion, or of none; which ſerves the Atheiſt's turn, as well 'as the Sectaries, but is not much for the honor, or intereſt of true Re- 'ligion. —— So that, whatever the pretences are, it is an ambitious, p. 3. v. p. 'diſcontented, revengeful ſpirit; an uneaſie, reſtleſs, fickle, and un- 6, 7. 'changeable humor, which diſturbs Politick Government, and under- 'mines the Thrones of Princes. —— In the time of the Fanatick Plot, p. 7, 8. 'but to Talk, or Write, or Preach about Obedience to Government, or p. 11. 'patient Suffering for a good Cauſe, was to betray the Proteſtant In-

p. 11. 'tereſt. —God may ſometimes ſuffer Treaſon and Rebellion to be 'proſperous, but it can never proſper but when God pleaſes; and it is 'impoſſible Rebels ſhould ever know that, and therefore it is impoſſible 'they ſhould have any reaſonable ſecurity of Succeſs. —There is 'nothing more expreſly contrary to the revealed Will of God, than 'Treaſonable Plots, and Conſpiracies againſt Sovereign Princes. '—Chriſtian Religion, indeed, is the greateſt ſecurity of Govern-'ment, both in its Precepts, and Examples —It requires us to obey 'our Superiors in all lawful things, and quietly to ſubmit, and ſuffer, 'when we cannot Obey. And the bleſſed Jeſus, who was the Author 'of our Religion, and our great Pattern, and Example, did himſelf p. 14. v. loc. and p. 21,22, &c 'practiſe theſe Laws, which he gave to us. —Under the moſt bar-'barous, and perſecuting Emperors, no Chriſtian ever ſuffered as a 'Rebel; they gave no other diſturbance to the Government, than by 'confeſſing themſelves Chriſtians, and ſuffering for it. Their numbers 'indeed were very formidable, but nothing elſe.

The ſame Doctor wrote his *Caſe of Reſiſtance*, when the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance, and Paſſive Obedience were not Confuted, but laught Ep. Ded. p. 109. out of Countenance. 'When whoever hath been ſo hardy, as to 'aſſert the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*, hath been thought an enemy to 'his Country; one who tramples on all Laws, who betrays the Rights 'and Liberties of the Subject, and ſets up for Tyranny, and Arbitrary p. 3. 'Power. In this accurate Treatiſe he proves. 1. That God himſelf 'ſet up a Sovereign, and ireſiſtible power in the *Jewiſh* Nation; and that v. p. 13, 14. 'during all that time, it was unlawful for Subjects, *upon any pretence what-'ſoever*, to reſiſt their Princes. 2. That our Saviour taught the ſame 'Doctrine, both by his Example and Precepts, as did alſo St. *Peter*, and p. 133. 'St. *Paul*. —The ſum of St. *Paul*'s Doctrine is this, that all Men, 'whatever their rank and condition be, — muſt be ſubject to So-'vereign Princes; *i. e.* muſt obey all their juſt and lawful commands, 'and patiently ſubmit even to their unjuſt violence, for Sovereign Princes 'are made, and advanced by God, —and therefore he that reſiſteth, 'reſiſteth not Man, but God: — and how proſperous ſoever ſuch Re-'bels may be in the World, they ſhall not eſcape the Divine Vengeance, 'and Juſtice, which will follow them into another World: *They ſhall re-*p. 221. *'ceive to themſelves damnation.* —The laſt Judgment weighs down 'all other conſiderations; and certainly Rebellion may well be ſaid to 'be as the ſin of Witchcraft, when it ſo inchants Men, that they are re-'ſolved to be Rebels, though they be damned for it.

Serm. on Iſa. 1. 26. p. 8. So Dr. *H. Bagſhaw*. 'Should Magiſtrates omit Works of Juſtice and 'Mercy, they are no more Gods, but Idols; nay, the worſt ſort of 'Idols, that being made to repreſent, do yet foully reproach Divine 'Power:

'Power: but ſhould People reſiſt, libel, or abuſe them, and ſo ſtrive to 'deface the marks of their greatneſs, they ſtrike at the Majeſty of the 'Supreme. We may all learn Duty from conſidering that God is the 'founder of human Government.

So alſo the learned Dr. *Faulkner*. 'The truth is *Maximus* was a Re- V. Chriſti-
'bel, and had wicked murdered *Gratian* the Emperor, and invaded the an Loyal-
'Territories of *Valentinian*; and for this cauſe S. *Martin*, though often ty, l. 1. c. 5.
'requeſted, for a long time refuſed to come to his Table, and avoided p. 183,
'all converſe with him, —— and did alſo foretel his ruin. And *Mar-* 184.
'*cellinus*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and *Sozomen*, in their Hiſtories, often give 'him the ſtile of *Maximus the Tyrant*. And *Symmachus*, a *Roman Se-* 'nator was found guilty of Treaſon by *Theodoſius*, for publiſhing a Pane- 'gyrick upon *Maximus*. —— S. *Ambroſe* not only refuſed *Maximus* the 'ſalutation of a Kiſs from him, but withdrew himſelf from thoſe Bi- 'ſhops who Communicated with him, *&c.* The ſame Author confute- Chap. 6.
ing the claim of the Pope to this Kingdom, on the account of the ſur- p. 233.
rendry made by King *John* to *Pandulphus* the Pope's Legat, adds, 'I 'ſhall chuſe to obſerve in general, that this Caſe is the ſame, as if any 'Seditious perſons, or Uſurpers, ſhould by fraud, or force, reduce the 'King to ſtraits, and difficulties; and ſhould then by like methods gain a 'promiſe from him, that he ſhould be under their Government, and 'ſhall order the Affairs of his Realm in complyance with them, and ſub- 'jection to them. Now all ſuch Acts are wholly void, and utterly un- 'obligatory: Becauſe, 1. No part of Royalty can be gained by Poſſeſſi- 'on, upon an unjuſt Title, againſt the right Owner, upon a ſure Title; 'this being a parallel Caſe to a Thief being poſſeſt of an honeſt Man's 'Goods. 2. No Sovereign King (unleſs by voluntary relinquiſhing his 'whole Authority to the next Heir) can transfer his Royal Supremacy 'to any other perſon whomſoever, *&c.* —— Another ground of Sub- p. 383. v.
'jects ſecurity, though they may not take Arms againſt their Sovereign, loc.
'is from God being the Judg, and Governor of the World —— and ſhall 'not the Judgment, and Authority of God over Princes be thought va- 'luable, and conſiderable, though he is more righteous, and more able 'to help the oppreſſed, than any Judge upon Earth? —— Unleſs all p. 393.
'things be in utter confuſion, and Anarchy, it is not poſſible, but that V. p. 395,
'there muſt be acknowledged ſuch an Authority, which none have 397, 456,
'power of reſiſting; but this can no where be ſo well placed for the 457, 463,
'Subjects Intereſt, as in their Sovereign Prince, and Supreme Gover- 490, 491.
'nor. —— Chriſtians are Baptized into that Doctrine, which makes 'great proviſion for the ſecurity of Kings, and againſt all manner of 'reſiſtance. — But though the directions of our Religion be plain; 'Hiſtory will acquaint us, that there have been many contrary Practices,

'as

'as matters of Fact. But these are no more to be urged against the 'Rules of Duty in this, than in other Actions of disobedience, and
p. 507. 'swerving from God's Commandments. —— It was truly observed 'by *Barclay*, that *Valentinian* the younger, who was an *Arian*, might as 'easily have been Resisted, and Deposed by the Catholick Christians, 'as any King or Emperor whatsoever, if they would have undertaken 'any such thing; for then the strength of the Eastern part of the Em-'pire was then in the Hands of *Theodosius*, who was a zealous promo-'ter of the True Faith: the Western Empire was over-run by *Maximus* 'an Enemy to the *Arians*, -- The Army of *Valentinian*, then at *Milan*, 'were so disaffected to the Emperor, that they declared, they would
Ambr. Ep. 33. ad Marcellin. 'go over to those, to whom S. *Ambrose* should direct them, unless the 'Emperor would Communicate with them who embraced the True 'Faith. But in this case *Theodosius* protected, and assisted *Valentinian*, 'and S. *Ambrose* disclaimed all resistance against him, and espoused 'his Interest to the utmost against *Maximus*.

Pr. Lond. 1688. *Herbert* Lord Bishop of *Hereford*, in his *Defence of the Reading the late Declaration*, asserts the same Truth; for though he pleads for the Read-
p. 5. ing of the Decclaration; 'Because, when we are bid to *Honor the King*, we 'ought to observe that express command of God in every thing, that is 'not expressly contrary to the word of God, or at least, most evidently 'deduced from it, so that every common understanding must needs
p. 15. 'see it. Yet he subjoyns ——that it is impossible that a true Son of 'the *Church of England* should have any disloyal thoughts in his Heart, 'his Principles commanding him unto intire Obedience, either *Active* 'or *Passive*, without any Equivocation, or Mental Reservation what-'soever.

SECT. VIII.

Serm. 25. Mar. 1660. called, fear God and the King, p. 11. v.p. 39. and p. 8, 9. Dr. *Matthew Griffith*. 'If God command one thing, and the King 'should command another, then God's command is to be preferred: 'and yet let me tell you, that the King is not to be disobeyed; for a 'true Christian is obliged to a twofold obedience, Active and Passive. 'Where the King commands things Lawful, there yield Active Obedi-'ence, and know that it is your duty to do them: but if he should com-'mand such a thing as you may not lawfully do, then you must not re-'sist, but suffer patiently for your not doing it, and that is your Pas-'sive Obedience: and in both these you may still keep a good Consci-'ence; for though God be to be preferred, yet God will not have his 'Anointed to be disobeyed.

Dr. *Jane*

Dr. *Jane* Dean of *Glouceſter*. Such is the peculiar genius of Chriſti- Ser. at the
'anity, that where ever it is either Preacht or Received, it can create no Conſecr.
'jealouſie in the State. The ground upon which this Aſſertion ſtands, of Doctor
'is this, that it diſclaims all title to the Sword, but leaves him that *Crompton*
'takes it to periſh with it, though it be drawn in defence of Chriſt Biſhop of
'himſelf. —In the Church then, as of old in *Iſrael*, there was no *Oxon*, p.
'Smith to provide Swords and Spears, though againſt their perſecuting 30,31,32.
'*Philiſtines*. —To obey Authority was taught, and practiſed under a
'*Nero*, and their Submiſſions were as unparallel'd, as their Provocati-
'ons. And we may truly ſuppoſe, under the *Roman* Emperors, that
'had the Doctrine of Obedience been as truly received by their
'Heathen Subjects, as it was Preacht by S. *Paul*, and practiſed by the
'believing *Romans*, they had effectually provided for the publick Tran-
'quillity without any further need of Forts, and Armies to ſecure it.

Dr. *Outram*. 'The Glory of the King, the Privileges of the Parlia- Ser. *Jan.*
'ment, the Liberty of the Subject, the Purity of Religion, theſe are 30. 1664.
'written upon the Face of the deſign. —The Principle is, doing p. 141,
'evil that good may come of it, and breaking Laws that we may the 149.
'better obſerve them. —Theſe Men went to *Rome* to whet the Ax,
'and borrowed an Arrow out of the *Roman* Quiver ſecretly, to ſhoot
'the Lord's Anointed. —Were the Prince a *Nero*, S. *Paul* would p. 160.
'charge us, we ſhould not reſiſt, and would charge reſiſtance with
'damnation.

Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, at the Tryal of the Regicides, ſays, 'I muſt Try. p. 10,
'deliver to you for plain and true Law, that no Authority, no ſingle 12. v. p. 15,
'Perſon, no Community of Perſons, not the People Collectively, or 52, 182,
'Repreſentatively, have any coercive Power over the King of *England*. 283.
And this he proves at large in the ſame place. —'The Crown of
'*England* is, and always was an Imperial Crown. — Now I do
'not intend any Abſolute Government by this. It is one thing to have
'an Abſolute Monarchy, another thing to have that Government abſo-
'lutely without Laws, as to any coercive Power over the Perſon of the
'King. —God is my witneſs, what I ſpeak, I ſpeak from mine own V. p. 13,
'Conſcience, that is, that *whatſoever the caſe was*, by the Laws of theſe 14.
'Nations, the Fundamental Laws, there could not be any coercive p. 280.
'Power over the King. And this he there proves from the obligation V. p. 281,
'of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, *&c.* Mark the Doctrine of 282.
'the Church of *England*, and I do not know with what ſpirit of Equi-
'vocation any Man can take that Oath of Supremacy. —Her Articles
'were the judgment not only of the Church, but of the Parliament at
'the ſame time. —And the Queen, and the Church were willing
'that theſe ſhould be put into Latin, that all the World might ſee the
'Confeſſion of the Church of *England*.

So

p. 51. So also Sir *Heneage Finch*, then the King's Sollicitor General. 'The 'King is not accountable to any coercive Power. See also the accurate Treatise, called the *Harmony of Divinity, and Law*, which proves that it is a damnable sin to resist Sovereign Princes, and answers all the little objections of the Republicans to the contrary.

See also *Nalson's* Counter. p. 35, &c. 309. Com. Intereſt of Kings, p. 139, &c. p. 3.

I shall here only mention Mr. *Foulis*'s History of the *Plots, and Conspiracies of the pretended Saints*; and briefly transcribe a passage or two out of Dr. *Sprat* (Bishop of *Rochester*) his *True account of the horrid Conspiracy* '——At that time under the color of the only true Protestant the worst 'of all Unchristian Principles were put in Practice; all the old Republican, and Antimonarchical Doctrines, whose effects had formerly 'proved so dismal, were again as confidently owned and asserted, as 'ever they had been during the hottest rage of the late unhappy Trou-

p. 21. See p. 41. 'bles. —— The Lord *R* —— was seduced by the wicked Teachers of 'that most Unchristian Doctrine, which has been the cause of so many 'Rebellions, *That it is lawful to resist, and rise against Sovereign Princes*

p. 43, 44. *for preserving Religion.* —— Other Principles were, that the only obli- 'gation the Subject hath to the King, is a mutual Covenant: that this ☞ 'Covenant was manifestly broken on the King's part, that therefore 'the People were free from all Oaths, and other tyes of Fealty and 'Allegiance, and had the natural Liberty restored to them of asserting 'their own Rights, and as justly at least against a Domestick, as against

p. 131. 'Foreign Invaders. The whole design of *A. S*'s Papers was to main-

v. p. 132. 'tain, *That Tyrants may be justly Deposed by the People; and that the Peo-* 'ple are the only Judges who are Tyrants. — That the general Revolt 'of a Nation from its own Magistrates can never be called a Rebelli- 'on, which Positions the Historian calls with great Truth and Justice,

p. 133. '*Villanous Opinions*, and such, as, if allowed, it will be impossible for the 'best Kings, or the most happy Kingdoms in the World to be free from

p. 164. 'perpetual Treasons, and Rebellious Plottings. —— But his Majesty 'hath just reason to acknowledge that the main body of the Nobility and 'Gentry stood by him: so has the whole sound, and honest part of the 'Commonalty: so the great Fountains of Knowledge and Civility, 'the two Universities: so the wisest and most learned in the Laws: 'so the whole Clergy, and all the genuine Sons of the Church of ☞ '*England:* a Church whose glory it is to have been never tainted with 'the least blemish of disloyalty.

In ch. 8. Hos. 4. p. 388, 389. Dr. *Pocock*. 'Some Interpreters by *Setting up Kings, but not by me*, 'would understand *Saul*; but that cannot with reason be imagined. 'Others looking on the sin of the *Israelites* to be their defection from 'the House of *David*, on which God had intayled the Right and Ti- 'tle of the Kingdom, and their changing of the Kinghom, and Priest-

'hood

'hood of their own heads, will have the words to concern their ſetting 'up of *Jeroboam*, and his Succeſſors in oppoſition to the Houſe of *David*, 'as appears by their carriage. 1 *Kings* 12. 16. when not liking *Rehobo-'am*'s anſwer to them, they cryed, *what portion have we in David? &c.* 'no command, or inſtructions were (for ought we find) given them 'by *Abijah*, or any other from God; neither did they, in what they did, 'conſult with God by that Prophet, or any other means to know his 'pleaſure therein; but what they did, was of their own heads, out of 'a rebellious humour of caſting off their lawful Sovereigns of the Houſe 'of *David*, in which God had ſettled the right of the Kingdom; ſo 'that, tho they ſo fulfilled the Will and Counſel of God, yet they did 'it, not in obedience to them, but with contrary intentions, and plain 'diſobedience; and ſo were no more juſtifiable in it, than the *Jews* in 'murthering Chriſt, than *Judas* in betraying Innocent Blood, that it 'was determin'd by God. —— and the ſetting up of his Succeſſors, was 'a continuance of defection from the Houſe of *David*, and a Rebellion 'againſt God. ——— others by, *ſetting up Kings without me*, &c. would 'mean, their ſeeking to Foreign Kings and Princes for help, as to the 'Aſſyrians, and King *Jareb* ch. 5. 13. to *Ægypt* ch. 7. 11. ſo forſaking 'God, and their dependence on him, and ſetting up them as Patrons, 'and Protectors to themſelves.

Dr. Fitz-Williams. *Subjects withdrawing their obedience from their lawful Prince is a denying God's Authority; —— Treaſon againſt him is a kind of Sacrilege; a revolt from him, an Apoſtacy from God; a reſiſting him, an oppoſing God; rebelling againſt him, fighting with God; the ſetting up the title of a Counterfeit Prince againſt the true one, an introducing a plurality of Godheads; the obeying of an Uſurper, Idolatry; the ſlandering his Anointed, and his Footſteps, a Blaſpheming God; the blaming his conduct, a quarrelling with Providence.* Serm. of the duties of fearing God, and the King. p. 4, v. p. 5, 6.

breaking through all Oaths, —— Oaths, in which they depoſited with them the richeſt pawn, it was poſſible for them to ſtake down, and gave them the ſtrongeſt ſecurity, that others could require of their fidelity and obedience, their Salvation; Oaths, in which they called God's Omniſcience to witneſs theſe engagements and his juſtice, and power to revenge the breach of them. —— can it be thought, that he, who will not hold him guiltleſs, that takes his name in vain, ſhould connive at the violation of all obligations of duty, and fidelity contracted in that name, —— if Men ſhall be in danger of Hell-fire for calling their Brother Fool, *ſhall they be in none for railing againſt their Superiors inveſted with Authority from above, and acting by a Commiſſion from Heaven? St.* Peter, *and St.* Jude *have taught us, that God reſerves ſuch, who ſpeak evil of dignities, unto the day of Judgment to be puniſh'd in the blackneſs of darkneſs for ever.* P. 15. P. 23.

Serm. *Sep.* 9. 1683. p. 11, 12.

Mr. Wagſtaffe. *It is the glory of our Reformation, that as it proceeded by the moſt peaceable and orderly ſteps, ſo it held the moſt peaceable and orderly Doctrins; the firſt Reformers pleaded, as the Primitive Chriſtians did, that they always paid ſubjection to the powers ſet over them —— that they always complyed with the will of their Rulers, where they lawfully might, and where they might not, they ſubmitted with patience, and always choſe rather to ſuffer, than to be ſeditious, turbulent, and unquiet; this was the firſt Reformation, and this the true Proteſtant Doctrin; but alas! ſince that time there hath riſen up another Proteſtant Religion, and another Reformation,* &c. *it is the peculiar glory of the Church of* England, *that it never hath, either by Doctrin or Practice, in the leaſt encouraged, or countenanc'd any thing tending to Treaſon, Sedition, or Rebellion. —— it is impoſſible, that any Man, ſo long as he continues in the Communion of the Church of* England, *ſhould be a Mutineer or a Traytor.*

P. 33, 34. See alſo his Serm. *July* 26. 1685. p. 18, 19 21, 22, *&c.*

Of this Opinion alſo are, the Authors of the *Remarks* †on *Popery repreſented,* &c. *as to the depoſing Doctrin*; *and of the *Catholick balance.* *Dr.* Bisby. *For my part I wiſh as well to my Religion as any Man, and pray as heartily for the continuance of it —— but to put by my lawful Prince, becauſe I ſuſpect he will call me to account for my Religion, and thereby make me worthy of ſuffering for Chriſt, nay bleſſed; this my Duty, my Conſcience, my Oaths, my Religion will not ſuffer me to do, —— a King ſuppoſes a Power Sovereign accountable to none but to God, who is the King of Kings, and the laſt Judge of Men.*

†P. 32, 33, 34, 35. *P. 104. Profecution no perſecution p. 21. See his mod. Phariſee. p. 4, 23. Id. miſch. of Anarchy p. 13. v. p 38, 55, 56, 57. *&c* Expoſit. 5. Comm. in private devot. *Ox.* 1689. In lib. 4. antiquit: p. 294. *con. loc.*

Dr. *Ed. Bernard.* 'I will obey, I will reverence all my Superiors, Spi-'ritual, and Temporal, and in all things not plainly repugnant to 'God's Word; and whenever they command any thing contrary thereto, if I may not according to Law, Righteouſneſs, and Honor appeal 'to a ſuperior Power on Earth, I will patiently ſubmit to their cenſures and penalties.

The *Oxford* Notes on *Joſephus* treat largely of this Subject and ſay, 'that the *Phariſees* were the Men, who under the doubtful, and linſey 'woolſey Government of the *Maccabees* brought in theſe Maxims, that '*the King could do nothing without the High Prieſt and the Sanhedrim* (be-'cauſe in weighty matters he uſed to conſult them of his own choice) 'that *his luxury and other vices ought to be maturely corrected*; and that '*an Ariſtocracy was a better Government, than that of a ſingle Perſon*; 'that they themſelves might be concern'd in the Government; although 'in that very Age it was a celebrated Axiome among the *Jews*, that '*the Majeſty of their Kings was ſo ſublime, that it ought not to be ſtoopt to* 'the Senate —— *the King gives judgment, but no Man judges him*; *that God* 'only calls the King to account, but no mortal Perſon; with many other citations out of the *Rabbinical* Writers to the ſame purpoſe. 'Such Doctrins

'atrins therefore contrary to the Rights of Kings, *Joſephus* would ne-
'ver have vented, if he had been leſs addicted to the Opinions of *Hil-*
'*lel* and *Shammai*, and had remembred the Golden Times of *David* and
'*Solomon*; or the flouriſhing State of *Judea* in other Reigns; for the
'Poſterity of *David* down to the *Aſſyrian* Captivity, exerciſed a full
'Power (a παμβασιλεία, as truly ſuch, as any that *Aſia* ever ſaw) in all
'Affairs, Sacred and Civil, *&c.* beware therefore, O you Princes, of
'the Doctrin of the *Scribes*, and *Phariſees*, Hypocrites, of the *Rabbies*,
'*Jeſuits*, and *Presbyterians*.

Dr. *South* with great ſmartneſs cenſuring the ſolemn *League and Covenant*, 'obſerves theſe two things. 1. That thoſe, who promiſe Obe-
'dience to the King, only ſo far as he preſerves the true Religion and
'Liberties of the Kingdom, (withal reckoning themſelves Judges of
'what Religion is true, what falſe, and when theſe Liberties are inva-
'ded, and when not) do by this put it within their own Power to judge,
'when Religion, Faith, and Liberties are Invaded, as they think con-
'venient; and from ſuch judgment to abſolve themſelves from their
'Allegiance. 2. That thoſe very Perſons, who thus covenanted, had
'already from Pulpit and Preſs declared, the Religion eſtabliſh'd in the
'Church of *England*, and then maintain'd by the King to be Popiſh and
'Idolatrous, and withal, that the King had actually Invaded their Li-
'berties. —— was there any thing in the Book of God to warrant this
'Rebellion? —— Why yes, *Daniel* dreamed a Dream, and there is alſo
'ſomthing in the *Revelation* concerning a *Beaſt*, and a *little horn*, and a
'*fifth Viol*; and therefore the King ought undoubtedly to dye. —— others
'plead *providential diſpenſations*; God's work it ſeems muſt be regarded
'before his Word; —— as if when we have a Man's Hand-writing, we
'ſhould endeavour to take his meaning by the meaſure of his foot, ——
'we have lived under that model of Religion, in which nothing hath
'been counted impious, but Loyalty, nothing abſurd but reſtitution. ——
'the Church of *England* is the only Church in Chriſtendom we read of,
'whoſe avowed Practices and Principles, diſown all reſiſtance of the
'Civil Power, and with the ſaddeſt experience, and trueſt Policy, and
'reaſon will evince it ſelf to be the only one, that is durably conſiſtent
'with the *Engliſh* Monarchy; let Men look back into its Primitive
'Doctrin, and it's Hiſtory, and they will find, neither the *Calvin*'s, nor
'the *Knox*'s, the *Junius Brutus*'s, the Synods, nor the Holy Common-
'wealths on the one ſide; nor yet the *Bellarmin*'s, nor the *Mariana*'s
'on the other.

Serm. at St. *Mary*'s *Oxf. Jan.* 30. 1660. and before the King *Jan.* 30. 1661.

SECT. IX.

And here it is neceſſary to mention the ſeveral Addreſſes, that own the ſame Doctrin; and I ſhall begin with that of the two Univerſities; that of *Oxford* runs thus, being according to an Act of Convocation dated *Febr.* 21. 1685.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, *&c.*

We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful, &c. ——*as we can never ſwerve from the Principles of our Inſtitution in this place, and our Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd in the Church of* England, *which indiſpenſibly binds us to bear all Faith, and true Obedience to our Sovereign without any reſtrictions, or limitations — ſo we preſume to aſſure your Majeſty, that no conſideration whatſoever ſhall be able to ſhake that ſtedfaſt Loyalty and Allegiance, which in the days of your Bleſſed Father, that Glorious Martyr, and in the late times of diſcrimination, ſtood here firm, and unalterable to your Royal Brother and your Self, under the ſharpeſt trials; and that we ſhall conſtantly (by God's aſſiſtance) with our utmoſt zeal and fidelity, improve all thoſe advantages, wherewith God and your Majeſty have intruſted us in this ancient nurſery of Learning, to promote the quiet, happineſs, and ſecurity of your Majeſties Reign over us.*

Gaz. num. 2019. Thus alſo the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in their Addreſs tendred by the Vice-Chancellor, *&c. Mar.* 23. 1684. *—We do with all humble ſubmiſſion preſent to your Sacred Majeſty our unfeigned Loyalty, the moſt valuable Tribute that we can give, or your Majeſty receive from us: this is a Debt which we ſhall be always paying, and always owing; it being a Duty naturally flowing from the very Principles of our Holy Religion, by which we have been enabled in the worſt of times to breed as true, and ſtedy Subjects as the World can ſhew, as well in the Doctrine, as Practice of Loyalty, from which we can never depart.*

Gaz. num. 2008. 2012. 2013. 2016. 2018, *&c.* Many other Addreſſes, of the ſame kind, were made by the Univerſity of *Dublin*: by the Biſhop and Clergy of the City of *London*: the Biſhop and Clergy of *Cheſter*: the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells*, and of *Hereford*: and in truth of all the Dioceſes, I think, in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: beſides ſuch as were tendred by Lords Lieutenants, Grand Juries, and particular Societies. For which Senſe of the Nation, in thoſe days, I muſt refer the Reader to the Prints, while I only ſubjoin the memorable Cloſe of the Addreſs tendered by the *Biſhop, Vicar-General, and the Clergy of the Cathedral, and City of Briſtol.*

The Church of England *is peculiarly indeared to us, for that (above all that is called Religion in the World) it twiſts Piety with Loyalty*; *and*, without Reſerve, *Recognizeth your Sacred Majeſty as the Sovereign, and Supreme Power within your Majeſties Realms and Dominions*, againſt whom there

there is no rising up, and only less than God himself. *According to the Dictates of that most excellent Religion, we abhor all those Antimonarchical Persons and Principles, which would either exclude Princes from their just Rights, or disturb the peaceable enjoyment of them. And we earnestly beseech the King of Kings, that your Majesties Throne may not only be Established, but raised still higher upon the ruins of those that shall endeavour to Subvert, or Supplant it.*

SECT. X.

Dr. *Stillingfleet*, inquiring into the Reasons why the *Saxons* were called into *Britain* by *Vortigern*, quotes *Gildas*, who affirms, *That after the* Britains *found themselves deserted by the* Romans, *they set up Kings of their own, and soon after put them down again, and made Choice of worse in their room. Adding, it is plain, that he supposes, that the* Britains, *in that Confusion they were in, took upon them, without regard to their Duty, to place, and displace them.* —— *But withal he observes, that then the* Britains *were left to their full liberty by the* Roman *Empire, that there was no Line remaining to succeed in the Goverment, nor so much as to determine their Choice, which made them so easily to make, and unmake their Kings; who lost their Purple, and their Lives together. This must needs breed infinite confusions among them, and every one who came to be King, lived in perpetual fear of being served as others had been before him. And the natural Consequence of this jealousie of their own Subjects, was looking out for assistance from abroad, which, I doubt not, was one great reason of* Vortigern's *sending for the* Saxons, *hoping to secure himself by their means against his own People: although it proved at last the ruin both of himself, and his People.* Origin. Brit. c. 5. p. 319.

And whereas *Cressy*, in his answer to my Lord of *Clarendon*'s Vindication of the Dean of S. *Pauls*, had objected, *That days of Thanksgiving were kept for the discovery, and prevention of such personal Treasons* (as the Gunpowder Treason) *but none for the Deliverance of the whole Kingdoms from almost an Universal Rebellion; as if their were no necessity of requiring from any a retraction of the Principles of Rebellion, or a promise that they shall not be renewed.* The Dean smartly rejoyns. 'By this 'we might think Mr. *Cressy* a stranger in his own Country, and that he 'had never heard of the 30. of *January*, or the 29. of *May*, which are 'solemnly observed in our Church, and the Offices joyned with that of 'the 5. of *November*, and are purposely intended for that very thing, 'which he denies to be taken notice of by us in such a manner. '——what doth Mr. *Cressy* think the *Renunciation of the Covenant* was 'intended for, if not to prevent the mischief of the former Rebellion? Answ. to the Letter Apologet. c. 5. p. 334.

——After

—— After his, he gives an Hiſtorical account of the Controverſie in *England* about the Power of Princes, and the Uſurpations of the Pope over them, and having cited Pope *Gregory* the Seventh's Letter, where-
p. 348. in he avers, 'That Kings had their beginnings from Men, who gained 'their Authority over their equals by blind Ambition, and intolerable 'Preſumption, by Rapines and Murders, by Perfidiouſneſs, and all man-
☞ 'ner of Wickedneſs: He ſubjoins, 'Is not this a very pretty account 'of the Original of Civil Power by the Head of the Church? The
p. 366. 'Oath of Allegiance ſworn to the Pope, leaves no room for Allegi-'ance to Princes, any more than a perſon who hath already ſworn 'Allegiance to one Prince, hath liberty to ſwear the ſame thing to ano-
p. 370. 'ther, which it is impoſſible he ſhould keep to both. '—— And diſ-'courſing of King *Stephen*, he ſays, that *his Title being very bad*, he ſaw 'it neceſſary for him to ſtrengthen it by the Pope's Authority, —and
p. 373. 'that *during his Uſurpation* all the Rights of the Crown were loſt.
p. 452. '—— Again he ſays, If depriving Sovereign Princes of their Crown 'and Dignity, endeavouring by open Rebellions, and ſecret Conſpira-'cies to take away their Lives, be not Treaſons, there are none ſuch in
p. 463. 'the World. — If the Primitive Chriſtians had been guilty of ſo many
☞ 'horrible Treaſons, and Conſpiracies, if they had attempted to deprive 'Emperors of their Crowns, and abſolved Subjects from their Allegi-'ance to them, if they had joined with their open, and declared Ene-'mies, and imployed Perſons time after time to aſſaſſinate them, what 'would the World have ſaid of their ſufferings? Would Men of any 'common ſenſe have ſaid, they *were Martyrs for Religion*? but that they 'dyed juſtly, and deſervedly for their Treaſons. —— the late *Regicides* 'pleaded the cauſe of God and Religion.

Id. Ser. on 1 *Cor.* 12. 24, 25. p. 17. 'The Scripture attributes the great revolutions of Government to a 'particular Providence of God; God is the Judge, or the Supreme Ar-'bitrator of the Affairs of the World, he putteth down one, and ſet-'teth up another; which holds with reſpect to Nations, as well as par-'ticular Perſons; *which doth not found any right of Dominion* (as ſome 'fanſied, till the Argument from Providence was return'd with great 'force upon themſelves) but it ſhews, that when God pleaſes to make 'uſe of Perſons or Nations, as the ſcourges in his hand, to puniſh Peo-'ple with, he gives them ſucceſs above their hopes or expectations, *but* 'that ſucceſs gives them no right.

Id. anſ. to the firſt royal paper, p. 23. and vindicat. of that anſ. p. 64. 'Suppoſe a Proſperous Uſurper in this Kingdom, had gained a con-'ſiderable Intereſt in it, and challenged a Title to the whole; and there-'fore required of all the King's Subjects within his power, to own him 'to be rightful King; upon this many of them are forc'd to withdraw, 'becauſe they will not own his Title; is this an Act of Rebellion, and

not

'not rather of true Loyalty, —— the Doctrins of deposing Princes, and ||Id. Vindi. p. 37. and
'absolving Subjects from their Allegiance, are errors in matters of pra- anſ. to the
'ctice of the higheſt importance; * —— if fancy only keeps us firm to 1ſt. part.
'the Church of *England*, might it not as well have been ſaid, that the p. 19.
'Proteſtants of the Church of *England*, adhered to the Crown in the *Id. anſ. to
'times of Rebellion out of fancy, and not out of judgment? and that 2d. royal
'if their fancy chang'd, they might as well have joyned with the Re- paper p.
'bels. —— as we have cauſe to be thankful to God, when Kings are 40, 55.
'Nurſing Fathers to our Church; ſo we ſhall never ceaſe to pray for
'their continuing ſo, and that in all things we may behave our ſelves
'towards them, as becomes *Good Chriſtians, and Loyal Subjects*; and
whereas the Defender of the Royal Papers. p. 80. argued againſt this,
that Subjects were no longer according to this Doctrin to be Loyal,
than their King is a Nurſing Father to their Church, 'the Doctor
'wipes off the Aſperſion by telling him, that he had put an ill conſtru- †Vindic.
'ction on his words far from the intention of the Author, who thinks of the anſ.
'it a part of a good Chriſtian, to be always a *Loyal Subject*. —— I de- p. 101.
'ſire this Gentleman to reſolve me, whether in the late times of Uſur- P. 86.
'pation this had been good Doctrin; that thoſe, who enjoy or pretend
'to Supreme Power, are to be judges in their own caſe? if ſo, then it
'had been impoſſible for Men to have juſtified their Loyalty to the
'Royal Family, then very unjuſtly put out of poſſeſſion, —— it is P. 88, 89.
'ſome comfort, that our Church is confeſſed to teach the Orthodox
'Doctrin of Loyalty, and her practice to be conformable thereto in the
'worſt of times; (and ſo the Doctor hopes, it will always be) ——
'But it hath been ſaid by ſome body, that we have nothing peculiar to
'our Church, but our Doctrin of *Non-Reſiſtance*; this might have given
'occaſion to inquire, whether the Church, which pretends to be in-
'fallible, doth teach it ſo Orthodoxly or not? or whether thoſe, who
'do think themſelves obliged to believe what ſhe teaches, are thereby
'obliged to the ſtricteſt Principles of Loyalty? ——this our Church doth
'not only teach them as her own Doctrin, but, which is far more effe-
'ctual, as the Doctrin of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and of the Primitive
'Church; which, I think, ought to have more force on the Conſciences
'of Men, than the pretence to Infallibility in any Church in the
'World. —— Is it any argument that the conſtitution of our Govern- P. 99.
'ment is not firm, or that Loyal Subjects cannot be certain of their
'duty, becauſe *Men of ill Principles* have run away with falſe notions of
'a *Fundamental contract and coordinate power*? ——and whereas it might
be objected, that propoſitions as dangerous, as thoſe of the *Jeſuits*,
were held by ſome among our ſelves (witneſs thoſe condemn'd at *Ox-
ford July*. 26. 1683.) 'We cannot deny, ſays he, but that there have been

Men

'Men of ill Minds, and diſloyal Principles, Factious and Diſobedient;
'Enemies to the Government, both in Church and State; but have
'theſe Men ever had that countenance from the Doctrins of the guides
'of our Church, which the depoſing Doctrin hath had in the Church
'of *Rome*? To make the Caſe parallel, he muſt ſuppoſe our Houſes of
'Convocation to have ſeveral times declared theſe damnable Doctrins,
'and given encouragement to Rebels to proceed againſt their Kings,
'and the Univerſity of *Oxford* to have condemn'd them. —— how
'come the Principles of the *Regicides* among us to be parallel'd with
'this Doctrin, when the Principles of our Church are ſo directly con-
'trary to them? and our Houſes of Convocation, would as readily con-
'demn any ſuch damnable Doctrins, as the Univerſity of *Oxford*? and
'all the World knows, how repugnant ſuch Principles are to thoſe of
'the Church of *England*. *And none can be Rebels to their Prince, but they*
'*muſt be falſe to our Church.*

The ſame Author in his accurate *Preface* to the *Jeſuits Loyalty*;
P. 1, 2. ſays, that tho the *Jeſuits* walk in darkneſs, and do miſchief, 'his inten-
'tion was to ſet ſuch marks and characters upon them, that when o-
'thers ſee them, they might take the wind of them, and avoid the in-
'fection.——and that he publiſh'd the *Jeſuits* Treatiſes, becauſe ſome
'poyſons loſe their force, when they are expoſed to the open air; and
'thereupon addreſſing himſelf to the *Jeſuits*, he endeavours to prove
P. 3. 'two things. 1. That if you do not renounce the Popes *power of depo-*
'*ſing Princes, and abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance*, you can give
'no real ſecurity to the Government. 2. That if you do renounce it,
'you have no reaſon to ſtick at the *Oath of Allegiance*, —— to prove the
'firſt, he ſays, it is allowed by all Friends to our King and his Govern-
☞ 'ment, that the *Commonwealth Principles* are deſtructive to it, and that
'none, who do own them, can give ſufficient ſecurity for their Alle-
'giance. I ſhall therefore prove, that all the miſchievous conſequen-
'ces of the *Republican Principles* do follow upon the owning the Pope's
P. 4. 'Power of *depoſing Princes*. —— Now the miſchief of the *Commonwealth*
'*Principles* lay in theſe things. 1. Setting up a Court of Judicature over
☞ 'Sovereign Princes. 2. Breaking the Oaths and Bonds of Allegiance
'Men had enter'd into. 3. Juſtifying Rebellion on the account of Re-
'ligion. As to the firſt of ſetting up a *Spiritual High-Court of Juſtice*
'at *Rome*, it is no ſatisfaction in this caſe to diſtinguiſh of a *direct* and
'*indirect* power; for however the Power comes, the effect and conſe-
'quence of it is the ſame. —— The queſtion is, whether the Pope hath
'any ſuch Sovereignty over Princes, as to be able by virtue thereof to de-
'poſe them; and the *Commonwealth's Men* do herein agree with you;
'for they do not ſay, that the People have a *direct* Power over their

Princes

'Princes (which were a contradiction in it self, for Subjects to command their Sove-
'reigns) but only, that *in case of breach of Trust*, the People have an *indirect* power to
'call their Princes to an account, and to deprive them of their Authority; but are the
'Commonwealth Principles the less mischievous to Government, because they only as-
'sert an *indirect* Power in the People? —— the main thing to be debated is, whether P. 5.
'Sovereign Princes have a Supreme, and Independent Authority inherent in their Per-
'sons or no; or whether they are so accountable to others, that upon *male-administra-*
'*tion* they may be deprived of their Government? ——— the Republicans, and Assertors
'of the *Pope's deposing Power* are agreed in the Affirmative of the later Question, and
'only differ, whether the Power be in the Pope, or the People to call Princes to an
'account —— and even in this they do not differ so much, as Men may at first ima-
'gine; for however the Primitive Christians thought it no flattery to Princes, to de-
'rive their Power immediatly from God, and to make them accountable to him alone,
'as being superior to all below him (as might be easily proved by multitudes of testi-
'monies) yet after the *Pope's deposing Power* came into request, the *Commonwealth*
'*Principles* did so too, and the Power of Princes was said to be of another Original, and
'therefore they were accountable to the People.

Thus *Gregory* VII. 'not only took upon him to depose the Emperor, and absolve
'his Subjects from their Allegiance; but he makes the first constitution of Monarchi-
'cal Government to be a mere Usurpation upon the Rights and Liberties of the People.
'—— and did ever any *Remonstrance, Declaration of the Army, or agreement of the People* P. 6.
'give a worse account of the beginning of *Monarchy*, than this Infallible Head of the
'Church doth? What follows from hence, but the justifying all Rebellion against
'Princes, which upon these Principles, would be nothing else, but the Peoples reco-
'vering their *just Rights* against intolerable Usurpations? —— the very worst of our
'*Fanaticks* never talk'd so reproachfully of Civil Government, as your *Canonized Saint*
'doth; their Principles and Practices, we of the Church of *England* profess to detest
'and abhor. ——— I pray Gentlemen tell me, what divine assistance this good Pope
'had, when he gave this admirable account of the *Original of Civil Government?* and
'whether it be not very possible upon his Principles, for Men to be *Saints* and *Rebels*
'at the same time.

'I have had the curiosity to inquire into the Principles of *Civil Government*, among P. 7.
'the fierce contenders for the *Pope's deposing Power*, and I have found those Hypothe-
'ses avowed and maintained, which justifie all the Practices of our late *Regicides*.——
'*Parson's Book of the Succession* (to the making of which *Cardinal Allen*, Sir *Francis*
'*Inglefield*, and other Principal Persons of our Nation concurred) being shred into so
'many Speeches to justifie their Proceedings against our Late Sovereign of Glorious
'Memory, the Book being design'd to exclude King *James* —— and thus we see, the P. 8.
'*Pope's deposing Power* was maintain'd here in *England* by such, who saw, how necessary
'it was for their purpose to defend the Power of *Commonwealths* over their Princes,
'either to exclude them from Succession to the Crown, or to deprive them of the pos-
'session of it.

'The same we shall find in *France* in the time of the *solemn League and Covenant*
'there, in the Reigns of *Henry* III. and IV. for those, who were engaged so deep in
'Rebellion against their Lawful Princes, found it necessary for them to insist on the
'*Pope's* Power to *depose*, and the *People's* to *deprive* their Sovereigns. —— thus *Boucher*
'affirms, the *fundamental and radical Power to be so in the People, that they may call Princes*
'*to account for Treason against the People.* —— *and that in such cases they are not to stand*
'*upon the nicetyes, and forms of Law; but that the necessities of State do supercede all those*
'*things.* If this Man had been of Council for the late *Regicides*, he could not more
'effectually have Pleaded their Cause, —— our Countryman *William Reynolds* also Vin-

'dicating the Murther of *Henry* III. says, *that Obedience to Princes is so far conditional,* 'that if they do not their duty, their Subjects are free from their obligation to obey them; the 'contrary opinion being against the Law of Nations, and the common reason of Mankind: 'and this is affirm'd by many others of their Writers.

P. 12. 'Thus we find, the most mischievous *Commonwealth Principles* have been very well 'entertain'd at *Rome*, as long as they are subservient to the *Pope's deposing Power*; and 'if we inquire further into the reason of these pretences, we shall find them alike on 'both sides; the *Commonwealth's Men*, when they are askt, how the People having 'once parted with their Power, come to resume it; they presently run to an *implicite* 'contract between the Prince and the People, by virtue whereof the People have a Fun- 'damental Power left in themselves, which they are not to exercise, but upon Princes 'violation of the Trust committed to them; the very same ground is made the Foun- 'dation of the *Pope's deposing Power*. viz. *an implicite contract*, that all Princes made, 'when they were Christians, to submit their Scepters to the Pope's Authority; which P. 13. 'is so implicite, that very few Princes in the World ever heard of it. — it is declar- 'ed in the Case of King *John*, that the resignation of the Crown to the Pope is a void 'Act: And so consequently will the imposing any such condition be, as inconsistent 'with the Rights of Sovereignty, — if they plead an *implicite contract*, who made such 'conditional settlements of Civil Power upon Princes? who keeps the ancient Deeds 'and Records of them? for all the first Ages of the Christian Church, this *conditional* 'Power and *Obedience* was never heard of — not when Emperors were open, and de- 'clared Infidels, or Hereticks; what reason can be supposed more now, than was 'in the times of *Constantius*, and *Valens*, that were *Arian* Hereticks? Yet the most 'Learned, Zealous, and Orthodox Bishops of that time, never once thought of their 'losing their Authority by it; as I could easily prove, if the design of this Preface 'would permit me.

P. 15 'If Christ and his Apostles were the best Teachers of Christianity, this is certainly 'no part of it; for the Religion they taught, never meddled with Crowns and Scepters, 'but left *to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's*, and never gave the least intimation to 'Princes of any forfeiture of their Authority, if they did not *render to God the things* 'that are God's. — it requires all Men, of what rank or order soever, to *be subject to* P. 16. 'the Higher Powers, because they are the *Ordinance of God*, and to *pray for them that are* 'in Authority, &c. Thus far the Christian Religion goes in these matters, and thus the 'Primitive Christians believed and practised, when their Religion was pure, and free 'from the Corruptions and Usurpations, which the Interests and Passions of Men intro- 'duced in the following Ages; and how then come Princes in these later times to be 'Christians upon worse and harder terms, than in the best Ages of it? — in my 'mind there is very little difference between Dominion, being founded in grace, and 'being forfeited for want of it; and so we are come about to the *Fanatick Principles* 'of Government again; which this *deposing Power* in the Pope doth naturally lead Men 'to; but this is not all the mischief of this Doctrin. For,

2. 'It breaks all *Bonds and Oaths of Obedience*, how sacred and solemn soever they P. 17. 'have been. — there being an obligation to Obedience on the Subjects part, which 'doth naturally arise from the relation between them and their Prince, when Subjects 'are absolved from their *Oaths of Allegiance*, they are thereby declared free from that 'natural duty, they were obliged to before, —— this is nulling the obligation to a 'natural duty, and taking away the force of Oaths and Promises. —— this is turning 'Evil into *Good*, and *Good* into *Evil*, that can make Civil Obedience to Princes to be 'a Crime, and *Perjury* to be none; this is a greater Power, than the *Schoolmen* will 'allow to God himself, where there is intrinsick goodness in the nature of the thing, 'and inseparable evil from the contrary to it. —— for tho it be granted, that God P. 18.

may

'may alter the *matter* or *circumstances* of things, our Question is only, about dispensing 'with the force, and obligation of a *Law of Nature*, such as keeping our Oaths un- 'doubtedly is. —— this he illustrates very Learnedly, and at large, in some following Paragraphs, asking, 'how comes the Pope to have power to give away another Man's 'natural right? a Man swears Allegiance to his Prince, by virtue of which Oath, the 'Prince challenges his Allegiance, as a sworn duty: —— the Pope dispenseth with 'this Oath, *i.e.* gives away the Princes right, whether he will or no. —— but how 'came the Pope by that right of the Prince, which he gives away? may he not as P. 19, 20, 21. 'well give away all the just rights of Men to their Estates, as those of Princes to their 'Crowns? —— *Cajetan* lays down a good rule about dispensing with Oaths, that in 'them we ought to see, that no prejudice be done to the Person, to whom, and for 'whose sake they are made. —— he afterwards cites the several distinctions, which 'the *Roman Casuists* use to vindicate this Power of dispensing with Oaths, particularly 'Laymen, that a *promising Oath made to a Man cannot ordinarily be relax'd, without the* 'consent of the Person to whom it is made, except it be for the publick good of the Church, P. 24. 'as tho evil might be done for the good of the Church, —— but woe be to them, 'that *make good evil, and evil good*, when it serves their turn; for this is plainly set- 'ting up a particular interest under the name of the *good of the Church*, and violating 'the *Laws of Righteousness* to advance it; if Men break through Oaths, and the most 'solemn Engagements and Promises, and regard no bonds of *justice* and *honesty* to 'compass their ends, let them call them by what specious names they please, the P. 25. '*good Old Cause*, or *the good of the Church* (it matters not which) there can be no 'greater sign of Hypocrisie, and real Wickedness than this, for the main part of true 'Religion doth not lye in canting Phrases, or mystical Notions, neither in specious shews 'of devotion, nor in zeal for the true Church, but in *Faith*, as it implies the per- 'formance of our promises, as well as belief of the Christian Doctrin; and in *Obe-* '*dience*, or a careful observance of the Laws of Christ, among which, *Obedience to* 'the King as Supreme, is one, which they can never pretend to be an inviolable duty, 'who make it in the Power of another Person to absolve them from the most solemn 'Oaths of Allegiance; and consequently suppose, that to keep their Oaths in such a case 'would be a sin, and to violate them may become a duty, which is in effect to over- 'turn the natural differences of good and evil, to set up a controuling Sovereign Power 'above that of their Prince, and to lay a perpetual Foundation for *Faction* and Re- 'bellion, which nothing can keep Men from, if *Conscience* and their *Solemn Oaths* can- 'not. Therefore, 3. The third mischief common to this deposing Power of the Pope, 'and *Commonwealth* Principles, is the justifying of Rebellion on the account of Religi- 'on; which is done to purpose in *Boucher* and *Reynolds*, whom he cites at large, and 'then proceeds to his second Proposition, that whosoever does renounce the deposing 'Power, hath no reason to refuse the *Oath of Allegiance*; and then adds, —— it is ve- P. 29. 'ry true, this hath been the effect of this Blessed Doctrin in the Christian World; *Se-* 'ditions, *wars*, *Bloodshed*, *Rebellions*, what not?

But I ought to transcribe all that excellent Preface, were I strictly to do the Author, or the Cause justice, while I refer the Reader to it at his leisure.

SECT. II.

Dr. *Tennison* in his *Epistle Dedicatory* to his *Examination of Hobbs's Creed*, says, that Hobbs's 'Hobbs hath framed a model of Government, pernicious in its consequence to all Na- Creed exa- 'tions, and injurious to the right of his present Majesty; for he taught the People soon min'd. Lond. 'after the Martyrdom of his Royal Father, that his Title was extinguish'd, when his 1670. 'adherents were subdued; and that the Parliament had the right, because it had pos-

'ſeſſion; he hath ſubjected the Canon of Scripture to the Civil Powers, and taught
'them the way of turning the *Alcoran into Goſpel*; and for theſe, and the like Tenets he
P. 2. 'calls him an *inſolent* and *pernicious Writer*. —— and when Mr. *Hobbs* had aſſerted, that
'Nature had made all Men equal, ſo that no Man can thereupon claim to himſelf any
P. 129, 130, 131. 'benefit, to which another may not pretend, as well as he, that from equality of con-
'dition competition ariſes fomented by equality of hope, and from thence a War of
'every Man againſt every Man, *&c.* he rejoins, that it is a very abſurd, and unſecure
'courſe to lay the groundwork of all Civil Polity, and Reformed Religion upon ſuch a
'ſuppoſed ſtate of Nature, as hath no firmer ſupport, than the contrivance of your own
'fancy: let Philoſophers diſcourſe, and make different Hypotheſes of the motion of the
'Stars, —— but when the temporal, and eternal ſafety of Mankind is concern'd (as
'in the Doctrins of Civil, and Moral, and Chriſtian Philoſophy) then are Hypotheſis
'framed by imagination——as exceedingly dangerous, as they are abſurd; wherefore
'ſuch Perſons, who trouble the World with fanſied Schemes and Models of Polity,
☞ 'in *Oceana*'s and *Leviathans*, ought to have in their minds an uſual ſaying of the moſt
'excellent Lord *Bacon* concerning a Philoſophy advanced upon the Hiſtory of Nature,
'that ſuch a work is the World, as God made it, and not as Men have made it; for
'that it hath nothing of Imagination: —— for the faithful accounts of time give us ano-
P. 130. 'ther account of the Origin of Nations; —— our Parents being before the Inſtitution of
P. 141, 142. 'Commonwealths abſolute Sovereigns in their own Families. —— after which he con-
'feſſes, that prejudice, and ſelf-intereſt doth (uſually) blind the underſtanding, and
'cauſe it to put evil for good, and humour, and education, and profit for reaſon, ——
P. 147. 'and adds, if Men be lawleſs in a State of Nature, and for the mere ſake of temporal
'ſecurity, do enter into Covenants, and are obliged to juſtice, and modeſty, and gra-
'titude, and other ſuch like ſociable Virtues, only becauſe they conduce to our Peace,
'and to the keeping of us from the deplorable condition of a War of every Man againſt
'every Man; then when any Subject ſhall have fair hopes of advancing himſelf by tread-
'ing down Authority, and trampling upon the Laws in a proſperous Rebellion, what is
'it according to your Principles, which can oblige him to refuſe the opportunity? If
'it be ſaid, that one Covenant is this, that we muſt keep the reſt; it will be again in-
'quired, what Law engageth Men to keep that paſt, ſeeing there is no Law of more
'ancient deſcent, except it be that of Self-preſervation? for the ſake of which we
'ſuppoſe the Covenants to be broken; ſo that without the obligation laid upon us by
'Fidelity (the Law of God Almighty in our nature) antecedent to all humane Cove-
P. 148. 'nants, ſuch Pacts will become but ſo many looſe materials, without the main binder,
'in the fence of the Commonwealth, which will therefore be trodden down, or bro-
'ken through by every herd of unruly Men: Men are apt to violate what they eſteem
'moſt juſt, and ſacred for the ſake of Reigning, and they will be much more encou-
☞ 'raged to break all Oaths of Duty and Allegiance, when they once believe, that their
'aſcent into the Throne, and poſſeſſion of the Supreme Power, like the coming of
*Lord *Bacon* *Hen.* 7. p. 13. 'the reputed Heir unto the Crown, as in the caſe of *Henry* VII. doth immediatly clear
'a Man of all former Attaindors. —— this Doctrin is of the ſame ſtrain with that
'pernicious Book, Intitled *Nature's Dowry*, Printed the year after the *Leviathan*, that
P. 149. 'Rebellion is not iniquity, if upon probable grounds it becomes proſperous; that he,
'who uſurps not like a Politician, is therefore a Villain, becauſe he is a Fool; that all
'Uſurpers in the World, ſtepping up into the Throne by means likely to further their
'aſcent, purſue the Fundamental Law of Nature, and are rightful and undoubted So-
'vereigns, —— that the Earl of *Eſſex* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when he miſ-
'carried was a Rebel and a Traytor; becauſe he was a weak and unfortunate Poli-
'tician; but that *Oliver*, who was ſure of being *Protector*, by the inclination of the
'Soldiery, and poſſeſſion of the *Militia*, was a Lawful Prince; after this he with ju-

ſtice

ſtice taxes Mr. *White*, as the † firſt part of this Hiſtory gives an account, and then ſhews, 'that Biſhop *Bramhal* fled from *England*, rather than ſubmit to the Uſurpation, † P. 93.
'and that the other Biſhops that ſtaid at home, promoted the Cauſe of their Sove- P. 153, 154.
'reign, which, if all zealous Loyaliſts had withdrawn themſelves, would by degrees
'have dyed away; and becauſe they refuſed the Oaths impoſed at the Peril of their
'Lives, and of their Fortunes, they therefore are not to be judg'd treacherous in un- ☜
'derminiog the Uſurp'd Government, or diſloyal to the King in injoying protection
'under *Oliver*, whom they neither arm'd nor own'd in Power. —— It is not for you
'to pretend to Loyalty, who place right in force, and teach the People to aſſiſt the P. 156.
'Uſurper with active compliance againſt a diſpoſſeſt Prince; and not merely to live at
'all adventure in his Territories, without owning the Protection by unlawful Oaths, or
'by running into Arms againſt their Dethroned Sovereign. —— thus you give en- P. 157.
'couragement to Uſurpers, and alſo when Civil diſcords are ſet on foot (as it happens
'too frequently in all States) you hereby move ſuch People, as are yet on the ſide of
'their Lawful Prince, whoſe Affairs they ſee declining, to adjoin themſelves to the
'more proſperous Party, and to help to overturn thoſe Thrones of Sovereignty, at
'which a while before they proſtrated themſelves; for in your way of reaſoning they
'have a right to preſerve, or delight themſelves by any courſe of means, and can be
'beſt protected by the prevailing ſide, which becauſe it hath more degrees of grow-
'ing Power, has it ſeems, therefore more of right, — thus it is in the choice of every P. 158.
'Subject (whom you make the Judge of the means to preſerve himſelf) to apply him-
'ſelf to the ſtronger ſide; or for a Company combin'd in Arms and Counſel, when an
'Heir, and a Traytor are engag'd in Battel with equal ſucceſs (as was the practice of
'the Lord *Stanley*, &c. at *Boſworth-field*) to give the day to the ſide, they preſume
'will moſt favour them. —— but there is no tye ſo ſtrong, as that of Religion, *&c.* —— *Vid.* 1. part
'and whereas *Hobbs* affirm'd, that Covenants are but words and breath, and have no of the Hiſt.
'force to oblige or conſtrain any Man, but what it has from the Publick Sword; he P. 93.
'anſwers, that thus the Prince is always in a State of danger, (Society being like *a State* P. 160.
'*of Nature*, managed all by force) becauſe he cannot be a day ſecure of remaining up-
'permoſt; ſeeing that the People are taught by you to believe, that the right of Autho-
'rity is a deceit, and that every one would have as good a Title, if he had as long a
'Sword, for the many headed Beaſt will throw the Rider, when he burthens and galls
'them. —— Woe to all the Princes upon Earth, if this Doctrin be true, and becomes
'Popular; if the Multitude believe this, the Prince not Armed with the ſcales of the
'*Leviathan*, *i. e.* with irreſiſtible Power, can never be ſafe. —— wherefore ſuch as own P. 161.
'theſe pernicious Doctrins, deſtructive to all Societies of Men, may be ſaid to have
'Wolves Heads, as the Laws of old were wont to ſpeak concerning excommunicated ☜
'Perſons, and are like thoſe ravenous Beaſts, ſo far from deſerving our love and care,
'that they ought to be deſtroyed at the common charge, —— if the commands of P. 192.
'Chriſt, and his Apoſtles are not alſo Laws —— what means the common Doctrin in
'the Scripture of ſuffering for the ſake of Chriſtianity? We are injoined to *take up*
'*the Croſs, and to follow Chriſt*, &c. Such commands and exhortations, to dye rather
'than to obey Unchriſtian injunctions are deliver'd in vain, yea, they deſerve the
'name of Impious, if they be not a Royal Law without the ſtamp of Civil Authority. ——
'it is therefore your opinion, that it is our duty for the ſake of outward ſafety to obey
'that, which is the Law of our Country, tho we live among the Heathens, rather than
'to follow dangerous, tho Evangelical Counſel.

This Doctor, together with the Lords Biſhops of *Ely*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, and Dr. *Hooper* were by the King appointed to attend the late Duke of *Monmouth* before his Execution, and the great thing, that they with reaſon preſt him to, was a *particular repentance*, an acknowledgment that his Invaſion *was a Rebellion*, particularly urging him

(as

P. 1, 2. (as the Printed account says) more than once, if he were of the Church of *England* to acknowledge the Doctrin of *Non-Resistance* to be true; and therefore I believe, that *Pulton* the *Jesuit* (as †himself says) charg'd him unjustly, that when he assisted Sir *Thomas Armstrong* before his Execution, 'that he did not oblige him to an humble acknowledgment of his Crimes, and particularly of the injury done to his King and Country, 'for the * Doctor (even in the heigth of Popery) thought his Loyalty more valuable, 'than Mr. *Meredith*'s, because he, as a Son of the Church of *England* profest, he would 'not rebel against the King, notwithstanding he might be of another Religion, where-'as Mr. *M.* being of the same Religion, could not well separate Loyalty from Interest.— 'and ‖avers, that he is by *Church Principle against resisting the Higher Powers*, and ap-'proves not of the excluding, and deposing Doctrin taught in Mr. *P*'s. great *Lateran* 'Council, before there were *Jesuits*, and also after they arose, by *Bellarmine* and *Dole-'man*, and a long train of others; in which some Popes, some Synodical Men have pom-'pously march'd.

☞ †*Pulton* consider'd, p. 67.

*Account of the conf. with *Fulton* p. 23.

‖ *Pulton* conf. p. 89.

To pass by *General Complaints*, we may furnish our selves with abundance of instances, in the Lives of particular Men of that Communion, who have been *Infamous* for *Impiety*.— I shall content my self with a few reflections upon two or three of this sort of Men, with whom the more the World is acquainted, the less veneration it will have for them. — *Pope Gregory* the *Great* — fawn'd upon the Emperor *Mauritius* whilst he lived and prospered, and own'd him as his Patron, and the Maker of his Fortunes, even before he had made his own. But assoon as the Emperor and his Family, were barbarously Murthered by the most Bloody Vassal and Usurper *Phocas*, *Gregory* insulted over this dead Lion, and flatter'd this living Monster, and his Immoral Wife *Leontia*: He used such words at his *usurped Exaltation*, as he did at that, which he called the *Conversion* of *England*; singing profanely, *Glory to God in the Highest*——*Let the Heavens rejoyce, and the Earth be glad.*

Id. exam. of *Bellar.* 10. note. *viz.* holiness of life. p. 243.

P. 248. There are many things in the *Roman* Church it self, which by helping forward an ill life, do, in part deface this *mark* of her *Sanctity*: Such as — the Doctrin about——— *Papal Supremacy*. Which last is very prejudicial to the quiet of the World, especially in the *Deposing Point*, concerning which, I take leave to use the words of another, with Relation to *Bellarmine*. He was *himself a Preacher for the *League* in *Paris*, during the Rebellion there of King *Henry* IV. Some of his Principles are these following. *In the Kingdoms of Men, the Power of the King is from the People, because the People make the King.* — We hear *Bellarmine* in another place positively affirming it, as *Matter of Faith*, if *any Christian Prince shall depart from the Catholick Religion, and shall withdraw others from it; he immediatly forfeits all Power and Dignity, even before the Pope has pronounced sentence on him: And his Subjects, in case they have Power to do it, may and ought to cast out such an Heretick, from his Sovereignty over Christians.*

*Postscript to transl. of *Maimb.* Hist. of the Leag. p. 15, 6, 17.

If therefore, the *Faith* of *Bellarmine* be *Faction*, whatsoever his Church is in it self, it is certain, as he has made it, it can never be found out, either as *The* Church, or as *A* sound Church, so far as we are to look for it by the *Note of Holiness*.

SECT. XII.

Dr. *Patrick* hath also fully declared his Opinion in this point, for, besides what hath been cited out of his works, in the first part of this History, he says ‖, that he, *who shall dwell in God's Tabernacle, is a Man, who hath such a respect to Religion, that whatsoever he promiseth by Oath, he will perform, tho he loses never so much by keeping his faith.*——— *and* * *that* David *confess'd to God*, against thee only have I sinned, *not because I stand in fear of punishment from Men, who have no Power over me; but because I am so obnoxious to thee, whose judgments I ought to dread the more, the less I am liable to give an account of my actions*

Paraphr. on *Ps.* 15. p. 75.

*in *Ps.* 51. p. 361.

actions unto others: O how it afflicts me, that I presumed, because I had none to controul me here on Earth, to offend thy Majesty, thy All-seeing Majesty! at whose Tribunal, the highest must be judged. — *Politicians, when they do unwarrantable actions, think to excuse themselves with the* Reason of State, *and pretence of* Common good — *and therefore will break their Faith, and their Oaths, and at the rate of their honesty purchase the common welfare,* — *as if God had need of Mens sin, or we could tell what is his interest, better than himself. I am somthing angry at this vile abuse of his Holy Name,* — *that tho God hath told us, what is his mind and pleasure, yet they will instruct him, and teach him what is more for his benefit, and shew him a way, that he thought not on, for the advancement of his Glory.*

1d. *Jewish Hypocrisie.* p. 371, 372. Lond. 1660.

The same Author in his *Epitome of Man's duty* annex'd to his Treatise of the *Jewish Hypocrite*, is of the same mind; *as we love our selves, let us endeavour to live in all good conscience before God; let us not do the least evil for to avoid the suffering of the greatest evil, and let us not neglect any good for the purchasing of the best good the world affords.* — *it cannot be long before thou feelest that hidden Whip, the cords of which thou art continually twisting for to lash thy self.* — *all impatience comes by pride, and our murmurings are bred by too goodly thoughts of our own selves; but if we thought with our selves, what we are,* &c. *we should become very* humble, *i. e. meek, and patient, and contented under all that befalls us: one act of humility begets another, and he, that thinks meanly of himself, will not be angry that he is afflicted.* — Be peaceable and obedient to Governors, *who are Gods in the world, and to whom God hath bidden us, that we should submit our selves,* submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, *&c.* 1 Pet. 2. 13. *It is an high act of Pride and Insolency, to controul the Authority that is over us, and to set up our own wills above God's Vicegerents; for it is a great contempt of the Majesty of God, whose* Image *they more remarkably bear, and with whose* Effigies *they are more visibly stampt than other Men; we must always therefore do what they command us, or else suffer, what they inflict upon us; and if we chuse the latter, we must suffer as meekly and peaceably, as if it was an immediate hand of Heaven upon us; for if* Solomon *says of every Man, that* proud and haughty scorner is his name, who dealeth in proud wrath, Prov. 21. 24. *Then much more is he to be branded in the forehead for a Man superlatively proud, who cannot endure to be touch'd in Body or Estate, but it casts him into the highest Inflammations of anger even against the* Highest Powers.

P. 41. P. 67, 68.

Dr. Tillotson. *There is a Spirit in the world, which is not only contrary to Christianity, but to the common Principles of natural Religion, and even to humanity it self; which by falshood and perfidiousness, by secret Plots and Conspiracies, or by open Sedition and Rebellion,* — *by Deposing and Killing Kings* — *in a word, by dissolving all the bonds of humane Society, and subverting the Peace, and order of the world, i. e. by all wicked ways imaginable doth incite Men to promote, and advance their Religion.* — *When Religion once comes to supplant Moral Righteousness, and to teach Men the absurdest things in the world,* to lye for the truth, and to kill Men for God's sake, *and to be a bond of Conspiracy,* — *better it were, there were no* revealed Religion, *and that humane nature were left to the conduct of its own Principles and Inclinations, which are much more mild and merciful, than to be acted by a Religion, that inspires Men with so wild a fury* — *and is continually supplanting Government, and undermining the welfare of Mankind. In short, such a Religion, as teaches Men to propagate, and advance it self, by* means *so evidently contrary to the very* nature *and* end *of all Religion.* — *how much better Teachers of Religion were the Old* Heathen Philosophers? *in all whose Books and Writings, there is not one Principle to be found of Treachery and Rebellion.* — Panætius, Antipater, *and* Diogenes the Stoick; Tully, *and* Plutarch, *and* Seneca *were much honester, and more Christian Casuists than the* Jesuits *are,* &c. — *I am not sure, that the Pope is* Antichrist, — *but I challenge* Antichrist *himself, whoever he be, and whenever he comes, to do worse and wickeder things than these.*

Ser. on Nov. 5. 1678. p. 17, 18. P. 19. P. 20. P. 21, 22. P. 28.

I hope no body expects, that I should take the pains to shew, that this was not the Doctrin of our Saviour, and of his Apostles, nor of the Primitive Christians (viz. the Doctrin of

Serm. on 1 *Cor.* 3. 15. p. 11, 15.

deposing

P. 33, 34. depoſing Kings) — *our Church hath this peculiar advantage above ſeveral Profeſſions, that we know in the World, that it acknowledgeth a due and juſt ſubordination to the Civil Authority, and hath always been untainted in its Loyalty.*

Serm. before the L. *Mayor* on *Jſ.* 11. 3. *Jan.* 30 p. 14. P. 16. Dr. Meggor. 'Altho there were Laws to guide, and direct the Kings of *Judea* and *Ægypt*, yet, if they forgot themſelves ſo much, as to violate and break through them, 'there were none by which they might reſiſt and puniſh them; their Miniſters and Inſtruments were ever accountable, but as to themſelves it was a Maxim every where, 'that they could do no wrong,— he, who reſiſts Kings, is in danger of receiving to 'himſelf damnation in the other World for ſuch unjuſtifyable, and forbidden practices. — there never yet was any Rebellion, where Religion or Liberty were not one, 'or both pretended, yet — he, who examineth the moſt judicious and impartial Writers of Story, will be hugely put to it to produce an inſtance of any one, where Perſonal diſguſts, and ſelfiſh deſigns were not the firſt Promoters and Fomentors of it; P. 28, 29. v. P. 43, 44. *&c.* '— they, that can diſpenſe with their Oaths, and comply with Uſurpers, be inſtruments of the illegal Innovations, and *Zealous for the Statutes of Omri*, may receive ſome 'wages for their unrighteouſneſs, and raviſh to themſelves fortunes, as unexpected as 'ignominious; but for thoſe, that dare not debauch their Conſciences, nor be partakers of other Mens ſins; that will retain their integrity, and rather than do, would ſuffer evil, what can theſe do? Theſe are they, that are ſo pityed in the Text; — down P. 35. & loc. ☞ 'then, down to the place of darkneſs from whence it came, with that Antichriſtian 'Principle, that it is lawful for the People, upon the ill managers and abuſe of their 'Power, by Arms, and force to depoſe and puniſh their Princes. — this once admitted, layeth the Ax to the Root of all Civil Society, *&c.*

Sermon. *Jan.* 20. 1681. P. 37. Dr. *Nath. Hardy*. D. R. 'The Enemies of the King accuſe him for being a Traytor to 'his People, which was ſo far from being true, that it was impoſſible, ſince he never 'received any truſt from them. — after which, addreſſing himſelf to the Lord Mayor, 'and his Brethren; he adds, you have taken care, that Rebellion may be deſtroyed in 'that, which was its Principal Engine, the illegal League and Covenant — and in its 'rotten Principles, thoſe Doctrins, which give Power to the two Houſes of Parliament, 'in ſome caſes to take up Arms without, and againſt the Kings command, and diſtinguiſh between the Perſonal and Politick capacity of the King, as to the point of reſiſtance, *&c.*

Serm. before Lord *Mayor Feb.* 11. 1682. p. 22, 24. Dr. *Goodman*. 'Kings are God's Vicegerents, and he maintains and upholds them 'in their Offices under himſelf, — a King hath the Stamp and Character of Divine 'Authority upon him; — it is the Divine Providence, that is the Peoples caution 'and ſecurity againſt the weakneſſes, paſſions, and extravagances of Princes; ſo that 'they ſhall not need to reſort to Arms, or any ſeditious and unlawful means in their 'own defence; we uſe to appeal to an Higher Court, when we are oppreſt in an inferior 'Judicatory, and this is our proper refuge, when our Rights and Properties are invaded, to look up to God the Supreme Potentate of the World, that he will reſtrain the P. 25, 26. 'exorbitances of his Miniſters: God is the King of Kings. — the ſafety of Religion, 'Liberty, and Property are mighty Concerns, but certainly they are not too great a 'Stake to truſt in the hands of God, — unleſs the means we uſe, be as certainly and 'manifeſtly lawful, as the cauſe we pretend to ſhall be juſt and honorable, we ſhall but P. 34. 'provoke Providence inſtead of ſubverting it, — let the People be quiet, not liſten to 'noiſe and rumors; but be ſure to Baniſh all diſloyal thoughts of reſorting to irregular 'means for the aſſerting their pretenſions? Is not God in the World? *&c.*

Sect.

SECT. XIII.

Dr. *Burnet* in his *modeſt and free conference* —— 'Shew me one place in either Teſta- †Printed
'ment, that warrants Subjects fighting for Religion? you know, I can bring many a- *Ann.* 1663.
'gainſt it; yea, tho the old diſpenſation was a more carnal and fiery one, than the new p. 6, 7.
'one is; yet, when the Kings of *Iſrael*, and *Judah*, made Apoſtaſie from the Living
'God into Heathenish Idolatry; ſome of the Kings of *Judah* polluting the Temple of
'*Jeruſalem*, as did *Ahaz*, and *Manaſſeh*, ſo that God could not be Worſhip'd there
'without Idolatry; yet where do we find the People reſiſting them, or falling to po-
'pular Reformations? neither do the Prophets that were ſent by God, ever provoke
'them to any ſuch courſes; and you know, the whole ſtrain of the New Teſtament
'runs upon ſuffering; —— it ſeems, you are yet a Stranger to the very deſign of Reli-
'gion, which is to tame and mortifie nature, and is not a natural thing, but ſuperna-
'tural; therefore the Rules of defending, and advancing it muſt not be borrowed from
'nature, but grace. —— are not Chriſt's injunctions our Rule? Since then he forbad his
'Diſciples to draw a Sword for him, with ſo ſevere a threatning, that *whoſoever will draw*
'*the Sword, ſhall periſh by the Sword*, this muſt blind us, and what he ſays to *Pilate* on
'this head, *my Kingdom is not of this world*, &c. is ſo plain language, that I wonder it
'doth not convince all. — Pope *Gregory* VII. Armed the Subjects of *Germany* againſt P. 24.
'*Henry* IV. the Emperor upon the account of Religion, becauſe the Emperor laid claim
'to the Inveſtiture of Biſhops, they being then Secular Princes; and this proſpering ſo
'well in the hands of *Hildebrand*, other Popes made no bones upon any diſpleaſure they
'conceived either againſt King or Emperor, to take his Kingdom from him, and free
'his Subjects from their Obedience to him. —— the Authors, who plead for this are
'only *Courtiers*, *Canoniſts*, and *Jeſuits*; now are you not aſhamed in a matter of ſuch
'importance to ſymbolize with the worſt gang of the *Roman* Church (for the ſoberer of
'them condemn it) yet fill Heaven and Earth with your clamors, if in ſome innocenter
'things the Church of *England* ſeem to ſymbolize with them? one great rule, by which *Burn.* Vind.
'the peace and order of all humane Societies is maintain'd and advanc'd, is Obedience of the Au-
'to the Laws, and ſubmiſſion to the Authority of thoſe, whom God hath ſet over us, thority, &c.
'to govern and defend us; to whoſe commands if *abſolute Obedience* be not paid, ever of the Ch.
'till they contradict the Laws of God, there can be neither peace, nor order among of *Scotland* ad Lector.
'Men; —— now it cannot be denyed to be one of the ſins of the Age we live in, that
'ſmall regard is had to that Authority, God hath committed to his Vicegerents on Earth,
'the Evidence whereof is palpable, ſince the bending or ſlackning of the Execution of
'Laws, is made the meaſure of moſt Mens Obedience, and not the Conſcience of that
'duty, we owe the commands of our Rulers; for what is more ſervile and unbecoming
'a Man, not to ſay a Chriſtian, than to yield obedience, when overawed by force; and
'to leap from it, when allured by gentler methods? —— hence it appears, how
'few there are, who judge themſelves bound to pay that reverence to the Perſons, and
'that Obedience to the commands of thoſe, God hath veſted with his Authority, which
'the Laws of Nature and Religion do exact; and the root of all this diſobedience, and
'contempt can be no other, but unruly and ungovern'd Pride, which diſdains to ſub-
'mit to others, and exalts it ſelf above thoſe, who are called Gods; the humble are ☞
'tractable and obedient, but the ſelf-will'd are ſtubborn and rebellious; yet the height
'of many Mens pride reſts not in a bare diſobedience, but deſigns the ſubverting of
'Thrones, and the ſhaking of Kingdoms, unleſs governed by their own meaſures.

'Among all the Hereſies, which this Age hath ſpawned; there is not one more con-
'trary to the whole deſign of Religion, and more deſtructive of Mankind, than is that
'Bloody Opinion of defending Religion by Arms, and of forcible reſiſtance upon the

'colour of preserving Religion; the *Wisdom* of that policy is *earthly, sensual, devilish*, favouring of a carnal, unmortified, and impatient mind, that cannot bear the Cross, nor trust to the Providence of God; and yet with how much Zeal is this Doctrin maintain'd and propagated, as if on it hung both the Law and the Prophets? neither is the zeal used for its defence, only meant for the Vindicating of what is past, but on purpose advanc'd for reacting the same Tragedies, — indeed the consideration of these evils, should call on all to reflect on the evident signatures of the Divine displeasure, under which we lye, from which it appears, that God hath no pleasure in us; nor will be glorified among us, that so we may discern the *signs of the times* —— we must consider, wherein we have provok'd God to chastise us in this fashion, by letting loose among us a Spirit of uncharitableness, giddiness, cruelty, and sedition.

2d. Confer. P. 7, 8. 'The Question is in general, *if Subjects under a Lawful Sovertign, when oppress'd in their established Religion, may by Arms defend themselves, and resist the Magistrates?* To which Questions the Nonconformist answers, consider, if there can be any thing more evident from the Law of Nature, than that Men ought to defend themselves, when unjustly assaulted, ——he is a self Murderer, who does not defend himself from unjust force; besides, what is the end of all Societies, but mutual protection? did not the People at first chuse Princes for their protection, *&c?* —— it was then the end of Societies; that Justice and Peace might be maintain'd, so, when this is inverted, the Subjects are again to resume their own conditional surrender, and to coerce the Magistrate, who forgetful of the ends of his Authority, doth so corrupt it. —— to this *Basilius*, the Orthodox Asserter of the King's Authority, gives the Answer, which you find in the *first part of this History*. p. 73. distinguishing between the Laws of Nature, and the permissions of nature.

P. 22. 'It is like the sacredness of the *Magistrate's Power*, was a part of the Traditional Religion conveyed from *Noah* to his Posterity, as was the practice of expiatory Sacrifices; —— certainly, the defence of Religion by Arms is never to be admitted, for the nature of Christian Religion is such, that it excludes all carnal weapons from its defence; and when I consider, how expresly Christ forbids his Disciples to *resist evil*, *Mat.* 25. 39. how severely that resistance is condemn'd by St. *Paul*, and that *condemnation* is declared the punishment of it; I am forc'd to cry out, Oh! what times are we fallen in, in which Men dare against the Laws of the Gospel defend that practice, upon which God hath passed his condemnation; if *whosoever break the least of these commandments*, and *teach Men so to do, shall be called the least in the Kingdom of God*, what shall their portion be, who teach Men *to break one of the greatest of these commandments*? such as are the Laws of Peace and Subjection; and what may we not look for from such Teachers, who dare tax that Glorious Doctrin of patient suffering as brutish and irrational; and tho it be expresly said, 1 *Pet.* 2. 21. *that Christ by suffering for us, left us his example, how to follow his steps*, which was followed by a Glorious Cloud of Witnesses, yet in these last days, what a brood hath sprung up of Men, *who are lovers of their own selves, traytors, heady, high-minded*, &c. I must confess my self amazed, —— when I find St. *Peter* saying expresly, 1 *Pet.* 2. 21. *that Christ suffer'd, leaving us an example, that we might follow his steps*; and applying this to the very case of suffering wrongfully, and that notwithstanding that you would study to pervert the Scripture so grossly.

P. 27, 28.

P. 35.

P. 58. 'I confess, there is no piece of story, I read with such pleasure, as the accounts are given of the Martyrs; for methinks they leave a fervor on my mind, which I meet with in no study, that of the Scriptures being only excepted; say not then, they were not able to have stood to their own defence, when it appears, how great their numbers were; or shall I here tell you the known story of the *Thebaan Legion*, which consisted of 6666, who being by *Maximinus Herculeus. an.* 287, *&c.* —— Consider, how *Maximinus* came, in the fag end of that great Persecution begun by *Diocletian* and *Herculaus*,

It was then no Legend, P. 62.

'*culeus*, continued by *Galeſius*, and conſummated by *Maximinus* himſelf, in which for
'all the numbers of the Martyrs, and the cruelty of the Perſecution, there was not ſo
'much as a tumult; which makes it evident, that Chriſtians of that time underſtood not
'the Doctrin of reſiſtance; the whole courſe of our Saviour's Life, was a perpetual tract
'of doing good, and bearing ill. —— and when he was accuſed to *Pilate*, of being an
'Enemy to *Cæſar*, and pretending to ſet up another Kingdom, he did in the plaineſt
'ſtyle was poſſible, condemn *all practiſings againſt Government* upon pretence of Religion,
'by ſaying, *my Kingdom is not of this World, if my Kingdom were of this world, then would*
'*my Servants fight*, &c. the Bleſſed Apoſtles followed their Maſter's ſteps in this, as in
'all other things, and therefore having learn'd of our Saviour that Leſſon of bearing the
'Croſs, and ſuffering patiently —— St. *Peter* doth at full length once, and again call on
'all Chriſtians to prepare for ſufferings, and to bear them patiently, *&c.* —— pro-
'fane, as well as Eccleſiaſtical Writers aſſure us, the numbers of the Chriſtians became
'very ſoon ſo vaſt, that nothing but the Conſcience of the duty they owed the Supreme
'Powers, obliged them to be Subject. Id. Serm. on Rom. 13. 5. p. 25, 26. p. 27.

'The Biſhops of *Rome* not content with their Uſurpations over their Brethren, and
'Fellow Churchmen, their next attempt was upon Princes —— they pretended to a
'Power of depoſing Princes, diſpoſing of their Dominions to others, and diſpenſing
'with the Oaths of Fidelity their Subjects had ſworn to them, —— but I cannot leave this
'particular without my ſad regrets, that too deep a tincture *of this Spirit of Anti Chriſti-*
'*aniſme* is among many, who pretend much averſion to it; ſince the Doctrin of *reſiſting*
'*Magiſtrates* upon colours of Religion is ſo ſtifly maintain'd, and adhered to by many,
'who pretend to be highly Reformed, *tho this be one of the Characters of the Scarlet-coloured*
'*Whore*. Their contempt of the *fifth commandment* follows upon the Doctrin of the Pope's
'Power of depoſing Princes, and freeing their Subjects from their obligation to them,
'by *which they are taught to rebel, and reſiſt the Ordinance of God*. —— we hold, that the
'Civil Powers are of Chriſt, whoſe Goſpel binds the duty of Obedience to them more
'cloſely on us; and therefore, if they do wrong, we leave them to Chriſt's Tribunal,
'who ſet them up, but pretend to no power from his Goſpel, to coerce or reſiſt them,
'—— while we have a Zeal againſt Popery, as a bloody, rebellious, and cruel Religion,
'we muſt do nothing to ſhew, that we are acted by the Spirit of Popery; —— we
'muſt never forget the Station, in which God hath put us, as we are Subjects under a
'Lawful Prince, to whom we are tyed both by Divine and Humane Laws; and even
'the *Lion's Mouth* it ſelf opening to devour us, can never excuſe us from our obligation
'to ſubmit and ſuffer, if God had ſo ordered it by his Providence, that we were born
'under a Prince, that would deliver us up to the Lion. —— the late Rebellion, as it
'was managed with a Popiſh, *i. e.* a bloody Spirit, ſo many of the Arguments that were
'uſed to defend it, were taken from Popiſh Authors. When we go out of the way of
'patience and ſubmiſſion, of obedience, and of bearing the Croſs; when we give ſcope
'to paſſion, and rage, to jealouſie, and miſtruſt, and upon this fermentation in our minds
'we break out into Wars and Rebellion, we forget, that the God, whom we ſerve, is
'Almighty, and can ſave us either from a devouring Fire, or a Lion's Mouth; —— we
'forget, that the Saviour, whom we follow, was made perfect by ſufferings, and that
'we become then truly his Diſciples, when we bear his Croſs, even tho we ſhould be
'cruſh'd under it; we forget, that our Religion ought to inſpire us, with a contempt
'of Life and the World; and with meekneſs and lowlineſs of mind, *&c.* —— we are
'not to ſhare with the Papiſts in their cruelty, nor imitate them in their Rebellion. Id. myſt. 29. of Iniq. 8vo. p. 72, 73. P. 152. Serm. at the Rolls. Nov. 5. p. 25, 27, &c. P. 28. P. 29.

SECT. XV.

Printed *Lon.* 1662 cp. ded. P. 384. Dr. Adam Littleton *in his* Catechism, *or the* Grounds of Religion. *An ungrounded Christian will be easily perswaded to give him self up to any wild Opinion, or loose practice, to turn Heretick or Rebel, and prove a fit instrument for the managery of Satan's designs. —— the fifth commandment is the hinge of the two Tables, —— and concerns the Magistrate, who is God's Vicegerent on Earth, and the keeper of both the Tables; wherefore some assign it a place in the* P. 336, 337. *first Table, God having a special care of civil order, and Peace in the Societies of Men,* honour thy Father and Mother, *whether thy natural Parents, or the Civil Magistrate. —— disobedience dissolves, and unloosens order and peace, which are the bands of Society; whereas oppression* See his Ser. on Nov. 5. 1675. p. 221, 223, 224, 226. and Ser. on *Jan.* 30. 1677. p. 236, 237, *&c.* *dots but strain, and gird the tyes of Government too close; no Tyranny of the most wicked Prince can be so mischievous, and destructive to the Publick, as the Rebellion of Subjects, let them pretend never so much Religion for it; the great interest of society is to obey, since the resisting of a Lawful Governor will in the end destroy Government it self, and bring all things into confusion; —— then he introduces God thus speaking, thou inferior, whoever thou art, that art* P. 343, 344. *under anothers Power, —— thou shalt be subject to him, and yield a ready and chearful obedience to him, as to the Lord, in all things that are just and lawful; and bear with his humors, and his harshness, remembring, that tho he be a Man of like passions with thy self, yet he is in God's stead; and if he at any time swerve from his rule in commanding, yet do not thou decline thy duty in obeying; but when he biddeth thee do any thing contrary to my will, carry thy self with submission, and resolve to suffer for a good conscience, rather than to resist, where thou canst not with a good conscience obey, — thou shalt not withdraw, or grudge thy obedience, much less shalt thou take upon thee to call him to account; —* P. 347. *thou* Subject, *shalt honor and obey the King, and his Ministers, —— thou shalt not raise sedition to bring an odium upon the Magistrate's Person, his Authority, or his Council; nor shew any discontent to the disturbance of the publick Peace, nor take up Arms against thy Lawful Sovereign, nor maintain or assist Rebellion; nor meddle with those that are given to change; thou shalt not offer any violence to the King's Sacred Person; but if at any time unrighteous commands are imposed upon thee, have recourse to thy Prayers, and make thy appeals to Heaven, to God the King of Kings, to whom alone they are accountable, and who will in his due time remove the oppression, and call the Oppressor's* P. 352, 353. *to an account. —— when the hedge of Government is broken down, neither Religion, nor Law shall bound us; —— this hath been* England's *Case in the wicked times of Anarchy and Confusion, —— when we complyed with Illegal Powers, — when our Oaths of Allegiance were eluded with the solemn cozenage of a League, and sinful Combination, when we were bewildred with the witchcrafts of Rebellion, and knew not the things, which belong'd to our Peace, but pretended to reform abuses by destroying the Offices, —— when we vail'd war against our dread Sovereign, and offered violence to the Lord's Anointed. — what need have we therefore to pray fervently with the Church;* Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this Law.

Pr. *Lond.* 1669. p. 24, 25. The same Author in his Sermon, called *The Churches Peace asserted upon a Civil account,* Preach'd *July* 4*th. An.* 1669. says the same thing, *The best Party of the Dissenters have such Principles of Policy and Government, as are utterly inconsistent and incompatible with Monarchy — whereas there is no one thing, that the* English *Church doth in her Doctrin more positively affirm, or in her Offices more zealously express, than Obedience to Governors, and her duty to her Sovereign; —— thanked be God, we live not now under* Heathen Emperors, *and* Pagan Governors; *tho if we did, it were our duty to pray for them, and to thank God for them too, and to obey them in all lawful commands, and where we cannot safely obey, chearfully to suffer for a good Conscience.*

An Original of all Plots. *Lond.* 1680. 8vo. cap. 1. p. 2. Dr. *William Saywel.* 'Still it hath fallen out, that Men of more zeal than discretion, 'of greater reading than judgment, have struck in with the Politicians, and wrote that, which

'which would most please the Men in Authority, and was likely to get them most favor,
'and reputation amongst those, who could satisfie their ambition, and by these means
'have rather served themselves than God, tho with the confusion and disorder of the
'Church. — Atheism, breach of common faith and honesty, violations of all Oaths and P. 3.
'Contracts, Murders, Treasons, Conspiracies, Rebellions, long and bloody Wars, Mas-
'sacres, Fires, Underminings, Poysons, and Subversions of Governments are the sad
'consequences of such dissensions in Religion — that these Parts of Christendom for P. 4, 5.
'some Ages past have been an *Aceldama* or Field of Blood, and many horrid and bar-
'barous Murders have been acted upon pretence of Religion, is evident from all Modern
'Histories; and tho the *Romish* Party have been the great cause of all these inhumane
'Butcheries, yet they have not been the only Actors in them; there are another sort of
'Men, who have had their Hands stained with blood, and upon what Motives and Prin-
'ciples, and to what degrees they have proceeded, I refer the Reader to *Archbishop*
'*Bancroft's dangerous Positions*, and to the *History of Presbytery* to satisfie himself. But tho Ch. 2 p. 78.
'several Murders and Rebellions have been carryed on by those, that call themselves
'Christians, yet neither the Christian Religion, nor the Church it self did ever teach
'any such Doctrin, or encourage any such Practice, — nay there are such Evidences
'against it, that no rational Man, that does rightly consider the matter, can ever doubt,
'but that she in her judgment and belief, wholly condemns all such wicked and ungodly
'designs. — And for further satisfaction, I will inquire into the state of the matter, —
'that all Power and Dominion is Originally from God, is not to be doubted, but by P. 9.
'Atheists, and that Governors act in his Name, and by his Authority, is as unquestion-
'able among Christians; now this Power is derived to them, either from the Law of
'Nature, which is common to all Mankind, or else from positive Revelation and Assign-
'ment; the first and highest fountain of Supreme Power, is founded in that natural Do-
'minion, that God hath given Parents over their Children, insomuch that if either
'*Adam*, or *Noah*, who were the common Fathers of us all, were now alive, they ought P. 10.
'to be the Universal Monarchs of the World; but when the Father dyes, and Brothers
'are scatter'd up and down the World, and live independently one of another, there
'can be no natural pretence for one to have Dominion over the other; yet the necessity
'of forming themselves into Societies for mutual defence and traffick, will oblige them
'to enter into Covenants — and tho while they are free, they may chuse different forms,
'as they shall see best for themselves, yet having once chosen and accepted of a Su-
'preme Power, they are not at liberty to cast it off again when they please, but all the
'Rights, Prerogatives, and Jurisdictions, which belong to Sovereign Authority, are
'presently by God invested on it, who does ratifie all lawful pacts and agreements, and
'requires us strictly and inviolably to observe them, — tho it may fall out, that the P. 11.
'Person sometime may be chosen by the People, or Nobility, or Senate; — yet the
'Power, and Office it self was not made, is not given, nor can it be limited or bound-
'ed by them, so as to destroy the Office it self, or make it become no Supreme Power;
'one Prerogative whereof is to be irresistible, and not to be called to account by any
'but God. — a Prince must use his Subjects as Freemen, and not Slaves; but if Prin- P. 12.
'ces do not their duty, we must not revenge our selves; for we ought not to be Judges
'in our own case, for God hath told us, that *Vengeance* is his, and he will *repay*; there- P. 13.
'fore we must go for vengeance to those, whom God hath appointed to execute ven-
'geance in his stead; if then our inferior Governors do us wrong, we must go to the Su-
'perior, who are made *Revengers, to execute wrath upon them that do evil*. But if the Su-
'preme Powers themselves oppress us, they cannot be judg'd by their Inferiors; and
'there will be no other remedy, but to leave them to the judgment of God, who hath
'reserved their punishment to himself; but tells us, *he that resisteth the Power, resisteth the*
'*Ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation*; and 'tis better

to

'to ſuffer unjuſtly in this World, than to ſuffer juſtly in the World to come; for ſince
'the laſt judgment in this World muſt be ſomewhere, 'tis fitter, that Children ſhould
'be committed to the judgment of their Parents, and Inferiors to the Supreme, than
P. 14, 15. 'any other way; — tho Princes are the Inſtruments, yet it is God's purpoſes or com-
'mands, that they put in execution, whether they be for good or evil; he inclines them
'to favor and mercy — when he is pleas'd to try us with proſperity and kindneſs, —
'again, when our ſins call for judgment and indignation, then he ſends forth evil Go-
'vernors, or elſe permits wicked Men to act according to their own cruel and ambi-
'tious minds, and the inſtigation of the Devil; but yet in the midſt of judgment he does
'remember mercy — they ſhall not do any harm, further than God in his Wiſdom
'ſhall give them leave, and that is no more than is needful for our good; — ſo that we
'are to look upon evil Governors and Superiors, that oppreſs us, no other than plagues,
'or violent Storms, or Earthquakes ſent from God, from whence we may run and hide
'our ſelves, if it be poſſible, and uſe all reaſonable means to ſave our lives by flight, or
'the like, but they are no more to be reſiſted by violence, than any of thoſe natural
'Evils; we muſt by humiliation and prayer implore God's mercy to us, in turning their
'hearts, or ſome other way ſending us deliverance, as we do to avert a Plague, or an
P. 16. 'Earthquake; but God hath given us no natural ſtrength to ſecure our ſelves, and there-
'upon will defend us himſelf, and have us wholly therein depend upon his own care;
'this belief it was, that filled the World with Martyrs, &c. this made our Saviour con-
'feſs to *Pilate*, that he had *Power* given him *from above* to crucifie him, &c. it was upon
'this account, that St. *Paul* ſaid, *let every Soul be ſubject*, &c. and in this ſenſe thoſe Texts,
'and the Authority of Governors were vouched by the Antient Fathers and Councils;
'and there is not one Writer for a Thouſand years of any credit in the Church, that did
P. 17. 'ever doubt of, or queſtion this Doctrin; but many of them have declared themſelves
'fully for it, that Sovereign Princes had their Authority immediatly from God, and were
'accountable to none but him, if they did uſe it amiſs, and therefore could not be de-
'poſed by any Authority upon Earth, whether of Pope or People, neither ought they
'to be reſiſted by open violence, or have their Power wreſted out of their hands by any
'of their rebellious Subjects; thoſe alſo, that act in a War without the Commiſſion of
'the Supreme Power, or of the King, where he is Supreme, have not the Sword given
'them by God, but take it themſelves; and therefore *ſhall periſh with the ſame*: And
this he confirms, as from Scripture, ſo from the Doctrin of the Church, and the ſenſe
P. 40, 41. of the Holy Fathers about it; and concludes, 'It were eaſie to carry the ſame Doctrin
'through all Ages of the Church, and to produce teſtimonies — eſpecially from the
'Articles and Canons of the *Church of England*, and the Writings of our Learned Biſhops,
'and other Eminent Defenders of our Church; but theſe ſhall ſuffice for the preſent, and
'they are enough to convince any ſober Man, that the Ancient Chriſtians did never
'dream, that either the Pope, or the People did give Kings their Authority, or had any
'Power to depoſe them, and authorize their Subjects to take up Arms againſt them,
'with or without their Authority; much leſs to ſet up others in their ſtead, or reſerve
'their Power in their own hands, but did believe, that their Authority and Power is
'wholly from God, and therefore muſt be obeyed according to his Ordinance; and
'that they never can be depoſed either by the Pope or People, or any other Authority
'upon Earth.

Sermon on Nov. 5. 1680. P. 4, 5. P. 21. Dr. Dove. *They, that dare imagin evil againſt the King in their Bed-chamber, will not ſtick to countenance Rebellion againſt him in the Camp; for the malice of Treaſon, like fire con-cealed, will either find or force its paſſage; — this is the uſual Prologue to all trayterous de-ſigns, to calumniate the Government, and ſpeak evil of dignities, to reproach the one, and make it odious, by traducing the other, and rendring them contemptible. — we may learn by ex-perience, that God for the bitter Government of the World, thinks it fit to make Rebels and Tray-*

tors,

tors, the most memorable examples of vengeance and judgment; search the Scriptures, and turn over the Annals of all Ages, you shall scarce meet in story with a seditious Incendiary, or a Rebel, who hath not ruined himself. —— If a Man can help Men to an evasion from the duty of Obedience, he shall have followers enough; this is a certain sign, that tho Men know their duty, yet they do not love to bear it; —— for certainly obedience to Magistrates is one of those things that accompany Salvation; and if they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation, then surely we may safely affirm, and that without any breach of charity, or stretching beyond our line, that they who oppose them in lawful things, or refuse to obey them in the same, without a timely repentance, and reformation are in danger of it. —— tho David was next heir to the Crown, and already anointed to it, tho Saul thirsted for his blood, and persecuted him by force and fraud, tho he had the hearts of the People, and Saul was given up into his hands, so that he could as easily have slain him, as have cut his skirt; yet this was that, which kept him from so great iniquity, that he was the Lord's Anointed. —— the Authority is still from God, tho it be placed in the hands of a sinful Man, and it loseth not its essence by the accession of personal miscarriages, &c. —— disobedience hath all that is hast in it, and Rebellion contains a whole conjugation of wickedness; of which there seems to be an indelible sense in all Mens minds, since even they, who love the thing, do usually hate the name of Rebels, and such as are conscious of the guilt, would gladly avoid the reproach of it; a plain indication of guilt, as guilt is a manifest argument of sin and wickedness, —— 'tis a sin next to blasphemy to speak evil of dignities, a degree of profaneness to disobey them, and intolerable iniquity to rebel against them; it is as bad in its own nature, as murder, or theft, being as expressly forbidden as theft, and in its consequence, 'tis far more mischievous, &c. this sin debauches the conscience, and hardens Men in impiety, so that it is rare, very rare to find a repenting Rebel. —— it is directly opposite to the Spirit and Power of Christianity, —— it makes the very profession of Religion odious and despicable, —— it is contrary to the example of Christ, the Blessed Apostles, and Primitive Christians; —— there have been many pretences made for disobedience and resistance; one hath libelled the Primitive Christians, ascribing their meekness, and submission to necessity, (so Bellarmine) another, that the Apostles in prescribing Obedience only flatter'd the Emperors (so Salmeron) a third hath taught, that the Doctrin of resistance was a mystery hid from the first Ages, and reserved for these last days of greater light (so Jo. Goodwin) —— thus the Gospel it self is belyed to countenance that, which it every where condemns. —— we have a Church, whose Doctrin, Discipline, and Government is Apostolical and Primitive, defective in nothing so much as the Obedience of her Members, unless it be the exercise of her Discipline. —— this Church was always famous for her untainted fidelity and loyalty to the Crown; oh! that our Hops were as good as our Religion, &c.

Id. Ser. bef. Lord M yor Sept. 29. 1682. p. 15.

P. 17.

P. 18.

P. 24.

P. 25.

P. 26.

P. 27. v. p. 28.

P. 30.

SECT. XVI.

Dr. *Henry Maurice.* 'The Ancient Christians knew how to dye, better than to dispute, 'but none understood yet how to rebel for their Religion, —— how then are we departed from this ancient and reasonable practice? —— no Faction did ever insult a Prince, 'they did not mean to destroy; —— but now to return to the blaspheming of the Church 'of *Rome*; if community of name be not so much to be regarded, as agreement in Doctrin, our accusers will be found to have a greater part in these Sectaries, than we; 'for both agree in the Fundamentals of Rebellion, and the lawfulness and merit of Resisting the Higher Powers.

Ser. on Jan. 30. 1681. p. 2, 12, 30, &c. conf. 1st. pt. hist. p. 112.

'There are Men in the World, that honor such as Martyrs, that were executed for 'murdering their King —— I hope, they were neither Bishops, nor Episcopal Men, that 'were so fond of Canonizing those Murderers for Martyrs; —— when *Chrysostome* saw 'the Civil Power against him, he would not contend, but endeavoured to steal away to 'prevent contention; and what his favorers did, when they began a Mutiny, they did

P. 180.

P. 318.

it:

'it against his will, and against all his entreaties, and obsecrations to the contrary; did
p. 326. 'not the Primitive Christians meet to serve God, and suffer'd Martyrdom for it; but did
'they ever enter into Covenants, and Practices against the State? —— in all the lamen-
p. 327. 'table distractions of the Church (by the *Arians*) we find no Orthodox Bishop animate
'the People against the Government, what Persecution soever they suffer'd; but on the
'contrary restraining all tendences to Rebellion, and withdrawing themselves, when the
p. 328. 'popular favor towards them grew inordinate, and uncontrolable. —— Whoever anima-
p. 337. 'ted the People to resist *Julian?* —— what a number of worthy learned Ministers of the
'Church of *England*, were turned out to make vacancies for the *Non-Conformists* (in the
'days of Rebellion) who were to instruct the People in new Mysteries of Religion, which
'their old Pastors had not the conscience, or ability to teach them, *i.e.* of the *lawfulness of*
'*Rebellion*;—we read of St. *Ambrose*'s zeal against the *Arians*, of his popularity, of his charity,
p. 341. '*&c.* but not a word of his Sedition, or his forcible resistance of the Emperor.—while
'the good Bishop in his Embassy to *Maximus* carried himself, as the Father, or Guar-
☞ 'dian of his Prince, tho he had been provok'd in the most tender part by his Prince's
'endeavors, for the introducing of *Arianism*; others perhaps, if they had been in his
'condition, would have look'd upon this Tyrant's (*Maximus*) declaring for the truth,
'as such an opportunity, that Providence had offer'd for the Preservation of the Faith;
'and since the Empress was of a false Religion, and the Emperor was govern'd by her,
'why should they not set up this *Maximus*, as the Protector of the true Faith? But *Am-*
'*brose*, and the Bishops were of another mind; they knew what it was to dye for their
p. 346. 'Religion, but did not understand, what it was to brigue, or to resist;——and, I pray,
'how did the Bishops comply with the Usurper *Maximus?* were any of them instru-
'mental to his advancement? did they Preach up his cause, and the lawfulness of his re-
'volt? did they ever press the People to bring in their Plate and contributions? or af-
'ter his successes, and the Murther of *Gratian*, did any of the Bishops justifie the Usur-
'per's Proceedings, and Preach, and Print in defence of that barbarous Regicide? did
'they flatter him, as the preserver of Religion, the *David*, the Champion of *Israel*?
with much more to the same purpose.

Ser. *Jul.* 26. 1685. on *Rom.* 3. 7, 8. p. 11. Dr. *Williams* Printed his Sermon Preach'd *July* 26. 1685. being on the day of publick thanksgiving, for the late victory over the *Rebels*, to vindicate the City Clergy, and particularly himself, who was censured, *as if the Sermon was not to the purpose of the day, and occasion*, as he says in his Epistle Dedicatory to the Bishop of *London*; 'Grant this, that
'evil becomes lawful by a good end, and when we think our selves secure, we make all
'compacts broken, Oaths dissolved, all difference betwixt Superiors and Inferiors con-
'founded; it exposes the Church and State to every pretender, and any one that hath
P. 20, 21. 'a mind, will never want a reason for Insurrection, and Rebellion. —— as no Re-
'ligion hath more discountenanc'd such Principles and Proceedings, than the Christian;
'so no Nations, nor Persons have more discountenanc'd the thing, than those who have
'profess'd it; it is too notorious to be dissembled, for that there have been Rebellions
'against, and depositions of Princes; dissolutions of Governments; taking, and break-
'ing of Oaths, and other things apparently evil, of that and the like kind done to serve
'a Cause, a Party, or a Church, is no Mystery now a days. —— Christian Religion
'teaches the wholsom Doctrin of being subject to the *Higher Powers*, and that *they, that*
p. 22. '*resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.*—— from the *confessions of Faith*, in all the
'Protestant and Reformed Churches nothing can be drawn, that will justifie Opposition,
P. 23. 'or Rebellion against Civil Authority, but they expresly declare against it; —— when
'Queen *Mary* was a known Member of the *Roman* Church, yet the Protestants first joyn-
'ed with her against the Lady *Jane Grey*, who was invested with the title of Queen, and
'was a Protestant. —— And this particularly is the avowed Doctrin of the Church of *En-*
'*gland* in all its Articles, and Homilies at large, three of which are against Rebellion.

Do-

'Do they find in the Sermons of the Miniſters of the Church of *England*, the Do- Id. Apol. for
'ctrines of the Peoples Power over Princes, of the lawfulneſs of reſiſting their Sovereigns, the Pulpits,
'or rather, where have the Rights of Princes, and the Subjection and Obedience of p. 3, 4.
'the People in all lawful Caſes, and the *Non-reſiſtance in any Caſe*, been ſo much aſ-
'ſerted? —— That Loyalty which concerns all, of all Perſwaſions, is taught in the Pul-
'pits of the Church of *England*, which obliges them to be as loyal, when the Prince is
'of a different Religion, as when he is of the ſame with them.

The ſame Author alſo in his *Difference between the Church of* England, *and the Church of* Rome, having cited our Articles, Homilies, &c. to prove the chief Power of the King, and that he ought not to be reſiſted; and ſhewn how contrary to this Doctrin the Decrees of the Church of *Rome* are, he ſubjoins, —— 'The Church of *England* pag. 31.
'teacheth, the King in all his Realms hath Supream Power in all Cauſes, whether Eccleſia-
'ſtical or Civil; —— For God alloweth neither the Dignity of any Perſon, nor the Multi-
'tude of any People, nor the Weight of any Cauſe as ſufficient, for the which Subjects
'may rebel.

So Dr. *Grove*, in *his Examination of* Bell. 15th. *Note*, viz. *Temporal Felicity*. — 'Since pag. 393.
'the Power of Depoſing Princes hath been openly aſſumed, and frequently practiſed,
'and never yet condemned by any, either Pope or Council; ſince the Doctrin of *Equi-*
'*vocation*, and many other abſurd and Impious Opinions are taught by their Caſuiſts,
'and made uſe of by their Confeſſors, in directing the Conſciences of their Penitents;
'and ſince theſe, and many more very dangerous Errors, do not only eſcape without a
'Cenſure, but are approved of, and encouraged by their Governors, I cannot ſee how
'they and their Church can poſſibly be excuſed from the Guilt of them.

Mr. *Thomas Stainoe*, B. D. and Archdeacon of *Brecknock*, preach'd *Sept. 6. Ann.* 1686. Serm. on
before the *Lord Mayor*, and ſays, that he publiſh'd it, 'That it might be inſtrumental to *Rom.* 13. 5.
'convince the People of their Duty to their King; becauſe it was for that very reaſon, Epiſt. Ded.
'that he preach'd it. That there is no Man ſo much a ravening Wolf inwardly, but he will pag. 3.
'put on Sheeps Cloathing; and tho his Reſolutions are bent upon Rebellion, yet his Diſ-
'cretion and Prudence will prompt him to pretend Religion.

'The leaſt that can be inferr'd from the words will be a Subjection to lawful Au-
'thority, and by conſequence alſo, to our own Prince: For the truth of all which, I
'ſhall urge no more at preſent, than the tacit Confeſſion of his moſt avowed and pro-
'feſſed Enemies, who after all their contrivance of Wit, Anger, and Malice, could at
'length pitch upon no better expedient to prevent his Right of Acceſſion, than *a Bill*
'*of Excluſion*: Now ſuch a Bill either preſuppoſes an antecedent Right, or it does not;
'if it does not, then it muſt be confeſs'd, that they did moſt elaborately trifle, whilſt they
'took a great deal of pains to bring that about that was already done to their hands. If
'it does, then we have what we look for, and that is, that the Injuſtice of their Actions
'does make good the Juſtice of his Title, and affords us a tacit Confeſſion, that there was
'no other way to overthrow that Title, but by overturning the very Foundations of the
'Government it ſelf. —— We are therefore obliged in Conſcience to be in ſubjection to pag. 7.
'the Superior Powers, becauſe God himſelf commands us ſo to be. —— God hath given
'the lawful Magiſtrate a Title to that Authority, to which we are obliged in point of pag. 12.
'Conſcience to be ſubject, and therefore we are obliged in Conſcience to be ſubject to
'our own Prince, becauſe he is the Miniſter of God. — There are a ſort of Men in the
'World, who, tho they do always complain, that we do not quote Scripture *enough*,
'when we diſcourſe upon any other ſubject; yet, when we diſcourſe about *Subjection*
'*to Government*, do always complain, that we quote too much; and therefore they are
'by no means willing, that the Caſe of Subjection ſhould be meaſured by that Rule.
'—— tho Government is the *Ordinance of God*, if the Scripture had never acquainted us
'with any ſuch thing.

pag. 14. 'I would have it consider'd, that neither the Laws of Nature, Reason, nor Justice, will 'ever allow us to endeavour to strip the lawful Governours of any Places (either where 'we live, or where we are born Subjects) of their Authority, any more than they will 'allow us to take away any other Man's lawful Right, or just Possessions. For for that very 'reason, that Supremacy is a Right that belongs to them, Subjection is a Duty that be-'longs to us. ——These Laws of Nature, Reason, and Religion, are the Laws of God. '——If therefore the Law of God does command our Subjection to the Higher Powers, pag. 15. 'tho the Scripture had never told us any such thing, —then let the Government have been 'formed when it will, and by whom it will; yet, in such a Case, because the Governors ☞ 'have a just and undoubted Title to, and Possession of their Supremacy, we cannot with-'draw our Subjection from them, unless we break the Law of God. —The only Obje-'ction that I can foresee against this, is this, When the Actions of the Higher Powers, 'without any regard to the Laws of Justice, or the Government, do manifestly tend to 'the Subversion of Justice and Right, and instead thereof, do load our Necks with In-pag. 16. 'juries and Oppressions, then we may fairly and honestly renounce our Subjection. Be-'fore I speak directly to the Objection, I must premise, 1. *That that Design is justly 'suspicious, which measures our Duty by our temporal Interest.* And 2. That it is as 'well an act of Subjection, peaceably and quietly to submit to the Penalty, as it is 'actually to obey the Command. ——Now, if our Adversaries do not allow the Obli-'gation to this disjunctive Subjection, it is apparent, that (when they tell us, we are 'not to be subject in the Case objected) their meaning is, we may defend our Disobe-'dience by Resistance; and then the Objection put into plain *English* amounts to thus 'much, That whenever the Prince does not govern us according to the Laws of Justice, pag. 17. 'and those of the Land, there it is lawful for us to resist and rebel against him. —This 'Doctrine is seditious and treasonable, and likewise absurd and false; for if a Subject 'does resist his Prince, tho it be in such a Case, in which it is supposed, that his Prince 'does him an Injury, he does by so doing stand guilty of these following Acts of Inju-'stice:

1. 'He takes upon him to be Judg in his own Case: Now because he that does so, 'may be rationally supposed to be biassed in his Judgment, by Self-Love, by Malice, Re-'venge, Covetousness, and the like train of Lusts and Passions; and over and above in 'the present Case, by Pride and Ambition: Therefore all those wise Men, who have made 'it their business to instruct us in the Laws of Justice and Equity, have with one consent 'condemned the practice of it. — Nay, the Rebel is both *Judg* and *Executioner* too in 'his own Case.

pag. 18. 2. 'He that resists his Prince upon supposition, that his Government is unjust, is there-'fore so himself, not only in that he undertakes to be a Judg in his own Cause, but 'in that also he does by so doing, usurp to himself that Jurisdiction, which of right 'does belong to another. For there is no doubt, but that the Title to the Sword is of 'right lodged in the Prince's Power; and there can be as little doubt, that the Subject 'can acquire no Right from the Injustice of the Prince to force it thence. For by the pag. 19. 'same Law that the Injustice of a Prince does entitle his Subjects to wrest the Power of 'the Sword out of his hand against himself; I say by the same Law, the Injustice of 'any private Man would give the *injured* Person a Title to the Estate and Life of the '*injurious*. And so new Titles would continually start up with new Injuries, and in 'a little time the Right to the whole World would (tho perhaps the possession might not) 'belong to injur'd Persons, as such.

pag. 20. 3. 'He that resists his Prince, upon supposition, that his Government is unjust, is so 'himself, not only in that he usurps to himself that Jurisdiction, which of right belongs 'to the Prince alone, but in that he invades the Rights of his Fellow-Subjects; for tho it

'should

'ſhould prove true, that the Prince by his Injury to the Rebel does forfeit his Title 'to his Government over *him*; yet there is another Enquiry behind, Whether or no, 'by ſuch his Injury, he forfeits his Title over the reſt of his Subjects; if he does, then 'he may forfeit his Title as well where he has not done an Injury, as where he has; '— if he does not, then the reſiſtance of the Rebel is unjuſt.

'There are ſeveral Concluſions that offer themſelves from the Doctrin already delivered, the firſt is this: pag. 23.

1. 'Ought we to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, and is therefore our Obligation to 'Subjection bound upon us by the hand of God himſelf? Then we may very fairly 'infer, that both the Doctrin and Practice of Reſiſtance comes from the Devil. For 'moſt undoubtedly any Practice or Doctrin does ſo, that ſtands in Diametrical Oppoſi- 'tion to any Duty that is laid upon us by God. —— When People reſiſt their Prince, 'and at the ſame time pretend to fear God, ſuch their Pretenſions are not only falſe, but 'blaſphemous too.

2. 'If we are bound in Conſcience to be ſubject to the Higher Powers, and if ſuch pag. 27
'Obligation comes only from God, then we do infer, that no lawful Authority can be 'founded in mere outward Force: The reaſon is, becauſe our Duty of Subjection to 'lawful Authority ariſes from an Obligation of Conſcience. Now, tho a long Sword may 'have terror enough in it (in many Caſes at leaſt) to awe our outward Actions, yet it 'can never have Power enough to oblige our Conſciences. And tho it may, upon the 'account of our Intereſt, engage us to a Compliance, yet it will never be able, upon the 'account of our Conſciences, to engage us to an Obedience. For if mere Power can 'inſtate a Man in a juſt Title to the Supremacy, then it will follow, that whoever has 'Power enough to invade the Throne, has Right enough to poſſeſs it; and his Uſur- 'pation will therefore become lawful, becauſe his Strength hath made it poſſible; and ſo 'at length the Robbers Sword and Piſtol will come to be the only Standard of Juſtice, all 'other Power muſt be cancell'd, and we muſt come at laſt to make the Power of doing 'wrong to be the only meaſure of Equity and Right. All theſe things are at leaſt true, pag. 28.
'when there is any Perſon in being, to whom the Title or Succeſſion of the Suprema- 'cy does belong, which (bleſſed be God) is our Caſe at preſent. And therefore that 'great Argument, which was brought to vindicate the Uſurpation of the ſucceſsful Re- 'bels in the late Wars, namely, that the People were not bound to adhere to their Prince, 'when the Prince was diſabled to defend the People, ſuppoſes no other Obligation upon 'Subjects than mere Intereſt; and ſo evacuates and makes null all Obligations of Con- 'ſcience. We ſhall therefore, before we part from this Inference, fix it as a certain 'Rule, by which every conſcientious Subject may and ought to guide his Practice: 'That ſo long as there is any Perſon of the Royal Race, to whom by the Courſe of 'Succeſſion, according to the Tenor of the Law of the Land, the Crown does belong; 'ſo long we have a lawful Supremacy, and ſo long we ſhall be bound in Conſcience to be 'in Subjection.

3. 'Are we bound to be ſubject to the Higher Powers for Conſcience ſake, and does 'the Obligation of Conſcience come only from God? Then I do infer, that to bind the 'People to be in Subjection to their Prince, there is no neceſſity of any Bargain or 'Contract between them, and the reaſon is, becauſe that Obligation that binds the Sub- 'ject to Obedience in this Caſe, is founded immediately and directly upon the Law of 'God.

'Laſtly, Are we obliged to be ſubject to the Higher Powers out of Conſcience; and is pag. 31.
'this Obligation laid upon our Conſcience by God? Then I do infer, That *no worldly 'Inconvenience that we can poſſibly ſuffer by ſuch our Subjection, can be a ſufficient war- 'rant for our Reſiſtance.* And the Reaſon is plain and eaſie, becauſe our ſecular Intereſt,

'be it what it will, can never be a ſufficient Counterpoiſe to our Duty; and he that will 'break God's Commands, becauſe it is for his ſecular Advantage, can at beſt but make 'that fooliſh Bargain in the Goſpel, that is, *to gain the whole world*, and in exchange for 'his Purchaſe, *to loſe his own Soul.*

Anſw. to the B. of *Oxon's* Reaſons. p. 345 &c.

Mr. *Wake* is alſo of the ſame mind; for when the Biſhop of *Oxon* charges the Church of *England*, as if *ſhe ſet up the Charge of Idolatry, as a Standard againſt Monarchy*; he replies, 'That it is a Calumny upon the whole Body of the Reformed; and that he 'might dare venture to ſay, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to be apprehenſive of Violence; 'he knows very well, how free the Chriſtians of the Three firſt Centuries were in laying 'the very ſame Charge againſt the Gentile World; and yet we do not find, that ever they 'ſhewed themſelves the leſs obedient to their Emperors upon the account of it. And 'tho I am verily perſwaded, that the *Romaniſts* are guilty of Idolatry, yet I thank God, 'I am not conſcious to my ſelf of one Diſloyal Thought to my King. —— And what I 'can thus truly profeſs in my own behalf, I doubt not, but I may do for all others the 'true and genuine Members of the Church, and who by being ſuch, muſt, I am ſure, 'by Principle be obedient Subjects. As for this Author, he has made a broad Sign, that 'he intends to leave us, by inſinuating, that the Charge of Idolatry ought to be follow-'ed by Blowes. —— We, who do proteſt againſt certain Practices, as idolatrous, do alſo pro-'teſt againſt violating Loyalty upon the account of Religion. —— Did we indeed profeſs 'that of Idolatry, which ſome others do of Hereſie, that it is a ſufficient ground for the 'Excommunicating of a King, and the abſolving his Subjects of their Allegiance; 'had we ever been caught, not in *Oateſian Conſpiracies*, but in real Plots againſt our 'Sovereign upon this account, there might then have been juſt cauſe for ſuch an inſinua-'tion. But whilſt our Principles are ſo loyal, that we have even been laught at for our 'aſſerting them — it was a very unreaſonable apprehenſion to think, that the Charge of 'Idolatry ſhould in the bottom have been the deſign againſt the Monarchy, which we have 'ſo often declared, and in the Perſon of our preſent King, have ſhewn, we think our ſelves 'obliged to ſupport, whatever his Religion be, who is to ſit upon the Throne. —— The 'truth is, when I conſider, how heinous a Suggeſtion this is, and what little Foundation 'there is, either from our *Principles* or our *Practices* to ſupport it, I am under ſome 'temptation to reply to this Author, *Nemo hoc poteſt credere, niſi qui poſſit audere*; 'and this, I hope, may ſerve for my excuſe, if I have at this time appear'd in defence of 'a Charge, in which, every true Member of the Church of *England* is ſo highly concern'd.

pag. 15, 16.

'—— Let the ſame Mind be in us, which was alſo in thoſe Primitive Chriſtians before 'mention'd. —— Let us ſtill be careful to maintain the Character of the beſt Subjects, 'as we have long aſſerted the moſt Loyal Principles; that as the Proſperity of our King 'makes up a conſiderable part of our daily Prayers, ſo by a ſincere diſcharge of all hum-'ble Obedience towards him, he may effectually ſee, that excepting only our Duty to-'wards God, we are much more forward, and ready to do his Majeſty *effectual Service*, 'than any Man can be, whoſe Loyalty is not ſupported by Religion. —— We ſet before 'our People the Examples of the Primitive Chriſtians; —— with what an humble Obe-'dience they ſubmitted themſelves to their idolatrous Emperors, and underwent the moſt 'cruel Perſecutions for their Religion ſake, even when they had Power ſufficient to have 'aſſerted their Faith, and to have deſtroyed both the Idolaters and their Idols together, 'and by theſe Maxims we exhort them to walk.

Id. 2d. Def. againſt the Biſhop of *Condom*, 1ſt. Part. P. 75, 76.

'God be thanked, the Pulpits Zeal hath ever been employed to keep up in the Sub-'jects that Duty, which by God's Command they owe to their Prince; and nothing is at 'this day, next to our Zeal for our Religion, more our deſire and endeavour, than to 'make Men Loyal to their Sovereign. Our Pulpits ſtill ſpeak the ſame Principles of Sub-jection, they ever did. We are neither aſham'd of the Doctrin of *Paſſive Obedience*,

'nor

'nor afraid of its Practice, tho ſome of your acequaintance have endavoured to laugh 'both that and us out of countenance. Our ſteadineſs to our Religion ſhall never make 'us fail in our Duty to our King. In one word, We will both by our Preaching and 'Actions make it our buſineſs to fulfil that great Evangelical Precept, of *rendering unto* 'Ceſar, *the things that are* Ceſar's; *and unto* God, *the things that are* God's.

Dr. *Fowler*. 'There is nothing more certain, than that for any of us to be falſe, and 'perfidious, to be ungovernable, rebellious, or ſeditious, upon the account of Religion it 'ſelf, is moſt unſufferable, and inexcuſable: For if it be lawful to behave our ſelves 'after this manner, *upon any account whatever*, Religion would be the moſt uſeleſs thing 'in the World; and if this were lawful upon the account of Religion only, I will not 'ſtick to ſay, that it will not be more uſeleſs and unprofitable, than miſchievous and hurt- 'ful. Nor would the Chriſtion Religion it ſelf be worthy our profeſſion, if it would 'give us leave *upon any deſign*, to allow our ſelves in the forementioned Immoralities, 'or in any one whatſoever.——Thus to do, is no other, than to be irreligious to pro- 'mote Religion, to be unchriſtian to do ſervice to Chriſtianity; and therefore to go the 'directeſt way to deſtroy it by the means we uſe for its preſervation.——Thus to do, 'is to oppoſe the Intereſts of our Religion to that of our Souls, and to caſt theſe away in 'the defence of that.——It is come to that ſad paſs, that preaching Obedience to Au- 'thority is as unacceptable Doctrin as can be to even many great Pretenders to Chriſtianity, 'altho it be done never ſo prudently and agreeably to the expreſs Doctrin of our Saviour 'and his Apoſtles. And the Notion of Obedience for Conſcience ſake, ſeems almoſt loſt 'among not a few, which is one of the great Sins, for which we have too great reaſon 'to fear, there is a *heavy Scourge* near us.

D ſign of Chriſtianity p. 243, 251, 252.

Id. Diſcour. of Chriſtian Liberty. p. 175. See his Diſcourſe of Offences. p. 9, 10, 11.

Mr. Evans. *A moderate Man, when the Honor of God, or the King, when Religion, and the Welfare of his Country lye at ſtake, then thinks it a moſt worthy and weighty occaſion of imploying his Zeal and Activity in their Service, of defending them with Courage and Reſolution, with his Life and Fortunes.——He never breaks the ſecond Table to preſerve the firſt, nor make uſe of any ways to ſecure Religion, that are contrary to, or deſtructive of its Principles.——What Men eſteem great Falſhoods, and call* Toryiſm *and* Popery, *are really as true as Goſpel.——I will conclude all with this Remark; We may, and ſhall, if we do not timely take up, bring in Popery by a heady and extravagant Zeal againſt it, and ruin and enſlave our ſelves by our fierce and paſſionate Contentions for Liberty, Property, and Safety.——Give me the Man that is honeſt, and conſtant to his Principles, and to what he profeſſes, whatſoever Party or Perſwaſion he is of; he is much more valuable to me, than he that plights his Faith to the Church, and gives all the Security that can be taken for his Conformity to it, and then after he hath wound himſelf into its Communion and Preferments, plays booty, and acts like a Non-Conformiſt: Theſe are the treacherous Friends, that like Vipers, prey upon the Bowels of their Mother, and betray her, as* Judas *did our Lord with a Kiſs.*

Sermon of Moderat. 1682. *p.* 12. pag. 23. pag. 34. p. 48.

Dr. *Comber*, in his *Religion and Loyalty*, 'If the Church of *England* did make world- 'ly Intereſt the ſole meaſure of her Actions,——they would never conſider what was ho- 'neſt, but only what was expedient, and never ſtick at ill means to accompliſh that, which 'they account good Ends.——We of this Church are perhaps the only Chriſtians ſince the 'Primitive Ages, who never diſpens'd with our Loyalty to ſerve our worldly Ends. And 'if this do not commend our Policy, I am ſure it declares our Honeſty and Integrity, 'and muſt needs recommend us to all good Men, as thoſe, who prefer our Duty and 'our Conſcience before all earthly Advantages.——No Religion in the World teaches and pra- 'ctiſes more Loyalty, than that, which is truly called Proteſtant; and we doubt not, 'but that if ever his R. H. ſhould attain the Crown, he will not blame our Church for 'that;

Sec. Edit. 1683. *p.* 8, 9. *v.* p. 12, 13, *&c.* p. 39.

'that, which was the Opinion of those, who endeavoured to subvert it, after they had
pag. 52. 'renounc'd all Communion with it;——especially when it is further considered, how
'constantly the true Protestants of the Church of *England* have loved, and how faith-
'fully they have served the Royal Family in all Fortunes, how closely they have adher'd
'to the Interests thereof upon all Occasions; so that whoever were true Sons of this
'Church, our Kings have always reckon'd them their certain and undoubted Friends: And
'when a Rebellion was designed against the blessed Father of his Royal Highness, the Con-
'trivers of it found it necessary, first to seduce Men from the Church of *England*, before
p. 53. 'they could engage them in so wicked an Action.——And since the happy Restoration,
'they have incurr'd the Hatred of the bigotted *Fanaticks*, for their perpetual standing for
'the King's Prerogative, and their zealous promoting his, and his Royal Highness's Interest.
p. 57, 58. '——The Pamphlets written in defence of the *Bill of Exclusion*, frequently transcribe
'whole Passages out of *Doleman*'s Book:——Take some of their *accursed Principles*.

The Commonwealth hath Power to chuse their own fashion of Government, as also to change it upon reasonable Causes.

The Commonwealth hath Power, not only to put back the next Inheritors upon lawful occasions, but also to dispossess them that have been lawfully put in possession, if they fulfil not the Laws and Conditions by which and for which their Dignity was given them.

The Republick may cure or cut off their Heads, if they infect the rest. Princes are subject to Law and Order, and the Commonwealth, which gave them their Authority for the good of all, may also restrain, or take the same away again, if they abuse it to the common evil.

The whole Body is superior to the Prince; neither so giveth the Commonwealth her Authority and Power up to any Prince, that she depriveth herself utterly of the same, when need shall require, to use it for her Defence for which she gave it.

The Prince's Power is not absolute, but delegate from the Commonwealth, and is given with such Conditions and Oaths on both Parties, as if the same be not kept by either Party, the other is not bound.

So also the *Apost. Prot.* p. 4, 5. With many other such *Popish* Positions, and it is very observable, that this wicked Libel of *Doleman* was in part reprinted, *Anno* 1648. under the feigned Title of *Several Speeches deliver'd at a Conference concerning the Power of Parliaments, to proceed against their King's form of Government*.——'But the Protestant Church of *England*
pag. 61. 'is not only better in all other accounts, but doth hold, teach, and practise Loyalty
'above all others in the World; the Divines thereof generally holding Monarchy to be
'of divine Right, and Allegiance to be an Obligation on the Conscience, and indispensible,
pag 62. 'because the King's Power is from God, to whom only Kings are accountable.——They
'pray for him three or four times by Name in all their solemn Offices; their Sermons
'are frequent and pressing upon this Theme, and their Books are numerous (against
'Papists and their factious Scholars) for the *Right of Kings*; yea, and their Actions
'being always Loyal, do justifie, they sincerely believe as they teach.

Sec. Edit. *ad Lectorem.* Dr. *Pelling*'s *Apostate Protestant*. 'Those Republicans who were the Movers of the
'Bill of Exclusion, very well knew, that by the same Power which they pretended to have
'to dispose of the Heir, they might pretend afterwards to have to devest and destroy the
'Possessor of the Crown.—And I will presume to declare on my own and my Brethrens
'behalf too (without begging their pardon) that we still act, and by the Grace of God, re-
'solve stedfastly to act upon the same loyal Principles, wherewith we have hitherto en-

'deavoured

'deavor'd to season the Kingdom. —— The People cannot but be tickled at the heart, 'when they are told, that they have a Sovereign Power in them, which they did not p. 6, 7.
'dream of, that they can make and unmake Kings, that Crowns and Scepters lye at 'their Worship's Feet, must make Court to them for Succession, and that they can if they 'will, bar them out, and come like the *Tribunes* of the People of *Rome*, with an uncon-'troulable *Veto*. —— I am grieved at the heart (and 'tis enough to raise the indigna-'tion of every honest Man) to find, that so many among us do so inconsiderately (not 'to say maliciously) run altogether upon this *Jesuit*'s Principles, *&c.* —— *Doleman* con- v. p. 9, 10,
'fidently insists on this, that the Crown is not a bare Inheritance, but an Inheritance 11.
'accompanying an Office of trust, and that if a Man's defects render him uncapable of p. 14.
'the trust, he hath also forfeited the Inheritance, and from this Principle he concludes,
'that even a true King may be deposed, when he answers not the trust, which the Peo-'ple had reposed in him. ——— This *Jesuitical* Doctrin did not long ago cost one of our
'Kings his Throne, and his life too; I pray God, it be not so chargeable to another, but
'tis *ominous*, when pretending Protestants will be nibling at such *Jesuitical* Principles;
'Observe, that the Power of Deposing a King, naturally follows from the Doctrin of the p. 19.
'People's Power to chuse one, — if any of our Clergy hold our Kings to be Divine, they
'hold no more, than what all Christians have ever held, no more than what the Church p. 21.
'of *England* hath declared, no more than what the Laws of our Country do own, and v.p.24,25.
'will bear them out in. — *Doleman* is positive, that Princes may lawfully be deposed; p.33,34. v.
'and he observes too (as a remarkable instance, as he calls it) that God hath wonder- loc.& p.36.
'fully concurred (for the most part) with such judicial Acts of the Commonwealth
'against their evil Princes, not only in prospering the same, but by giving also some
'notable Successor in the place of the deposed; had *Father Parsons* been alive in our
'days, perhaps he would have instanc'd in that blessed Bird *Oliver Cromwell* among
'the rest.

'I happen'd to read a new *Assemblies Catechism*, called a *Political Catechism*, and I p.38.v.p.
'found it as full of the *Jesuit*'s Venom, as if it had been spit out of *Doleman*'s own Mouth; 40,41, *&c.*
'these are some of the Principles in it word for word. 1. That the Government being
'a regulated Monarchy, the King is not above the Law, but is accountable to the Law,
'and not to God only. 2. That whatsoever is done by the King without, and beyond
'the limits of the Regulation is not Regal Authority. 3. That to resist the notorious trans-
'gressions of that regulation is no resisting the Regal Authority; —— that the imme-
'diate Original of the King's Power is from the People, and many other such Principles,
'upon which the late Rebellion was raised and maintained

After this he proceeds to shew, that the little arts made use of to evade the obliga-tions to *Passive Obedience*, have been also borrowed from the *Jesuits*, and to vindicate Dr. *Hicks*'s Sermon on that Subject; as also to shew the Parallel between the *Jesuit*, and the *Puritan*, particularly in their disobedience to Government, violation of Oaths, *&c.*
'And then subjoins, that when once Men are Jesuited, they will never stick at any man- p. 50.
'ner of wickedness, Lying, Libelling, Sedition, defaming of Government, Perjury, *&c.*
'—— you see, how basely partial these Folks are in their ordinary censures; let a Man p. 51.
'be a true Friend to the King, and to the Establish'd Government, and presently (for-
'sooth) he is a Papist; let him refuse to do evil, that good may come (tho that was
'St. *Paul*'s way) and he is called a Papist; let him be for subjection to a Lawful Prince,
'and (when time serves) for *Passive Obedience*, and he is a Papist with a witness, but
'let these Men profess the Faith and Doctrins of the *Jesuits*, let them lye and equivo-
'cate like the *Jesuits*, let them violate Oaths, or construe them in their own sense like v.p.52,53,
'the *Jesuits*; let them dispense with one another in doing any wickedness, that is ser- 57, 58.
'viceable to their cause (as the *Jesuits* do) yet who but they the true Protestants? ——
'we dare not be dishonest, unless we will be Hypocrites, nor be Rebels, unless we will p. 54.
'be damn'd.

Some

Id. Serm. on Prov 24. 21. 1682. p. 25.

'Some in *Solomon's* time were given to change out of a ſtrange kind of levity, and inconſiſtency of mind; and therefore ſome Expoſitors render the place thus, *cum inconſtantibus*, with Men that are fickle, and unſteady in their Loyalty; would we not think 'it ſtrange, that Men, who have ſhewed their fidelity all along; Men, who have acted, 'taught, ſuffered, and ventur'd their Lives for the ſake of Majeſty, ſhould ſuch, I ſay, 'ſtart aſide, and ſuffer themſelves to be wheadled into Faction at laſt? Truly we might 'wonder at it the leſs, when we conſider, that it was the caſe of ſeveral Men in the 'Reign of *David*, and eſpecially two very eminent Perſons, *Abiathar* the *Prieſt*, and '*Joab* that brave Commander; the former had been *David*'s ſecret, and ſure Friend, 'and the later had not turn'd after *Abſalom*; both of them had been faithful hitherto; but 'when *Adonijah* uſurp'd the Kingdom, both of them were concern'd in that Plot; the 'Prieſt turn'd an Apoſtate, and the General a Renegado; upon what provocations, I 'do not know, nor can I gather any reaſon thereof, unleſs it be that I now have men'tion'd, a ſtrange inconſtancy of Spirit in Men, who in *David*'s Old Age thought it their 'beſt cunning to take up the *Perſian* cuſtom, and worſhip the Riſing Sun.

Thus the *Letter to a diſſenter on occaſion of the Declaration of Indulgence*; 'We are not to 'be laught out of our *Paſſive Obedience*, and the Doctrin of *Non-Reſiſtance*, tho even thoſe, 'who perhaps owe the beſt part of their ſecurity to that Principle, are apt to make a 'jeſt of it.

SECT. XVII.

C. 26. §. 1, 2, 6, 8.

Dr. *Pierce* Dean of *Salisbury* in his *body of Orthodox Divinity*, avers, that the Church of God conſiſts of a Civil, as well as an Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, that Magiſtrates are conſtituted by a Divine right, as well as Prieſts; that he, who reſiſts the Magiſtrate ſo conſtituted by God, wounds his Conſcience deeply in this World, and ſhall be damn'd in the next; after which he ſmartly cenſures both the *Fanaticks*, and the *Jeſuits*; the *ſcandals of Chriſtianity*, as he calls them, condemning the Doctrins of both ſorts of them, and ſhewing the unreaſonableneſs of that propoſition, that Inferior Magiſtrates may controul a Prince, if he does not do his duty, ſince by the Laws of the Land (as well as the Laws of God) a King can do no harm, *i.e.* that the King is unaccountable, inferior only to God, and obnoxious only to his Tribunal, ſo that no Mortal, much leſs his Subjects can have any Authority over him. —— 'Obedience to Magiſtrates being of Di'vine Right, ſtrongly founded upon the Will, and the Word of God, and even a part 'of the Obedience to God himſelf (whilſt it is paid to that Authority, which God hath 'commanded us to pay an Obedience to) cannot poſſibly be due to the Men, as Men; or 'to the good, as they are good; but to the Magiſtrates, as they are ſuch; 'tis due to the 'Governors, as they are Governors, and as the Ordinance of God, let their Practices 'and Opinions be what they will. —— When God and his Deputies do ſtand in 'competition for our Obedience, God muſt have our whole *active*, and his Deputies 'our *Paſſive Obedience* only. ——Saving the dignity, and priority of the firſt and 'great commandment, as the ground and foundation of all the reſt, our Obedience to 'our Governors, and Humane Laws in force among us, is as really an Eſſential and Fundamental of Chriſtianity, and of as abſolute neceſſity to our Salvation, as the belief of 'one God, or any other that can be named; it being as rigidly commanded by God in 'Scripture, under the very ſame promiſes of reward, if we obey, and under the very 'ſame threats of endleſs puniſhments, if we rebel.

Id. exceeding ſinfulneſs of Schiſm. §. 5, 6, 7, 11. v. Ser. on 1 Pet. 2. 13. §. 4, 5, 7, 8.

Serm. on Tit. 3. 1. p. 455, &c.

Dr. *D. Whitby* Chantor of the ſame Church in the time of the D. of *Monmouth*, Rebellion laid down this poſition, That Chriſtians muſt be ſubject to their Civil Magiſtrates, and in no caſes are allowed, or authorized forcibly to reſiſt, or bear Arms againſt them; and this he proves at large from the expreſſions of the Holy Scriptures, from the

deport-

department of *David* to King *Saul*, —— that *Jeroboam*'s revolt is by God himself called *Rebellion*. 1 *King.* 12. 19. —— 'for as a Father doth not forfeit his Authority over his 'Children, nor are they freed from that Obedience, which they owe him, because he 'deals severely with them, so neither can the King, *i. e.* the Father of his Country lose 'his Authority over his Subjects, because he governs them severely, or lays afflicting 'burthens on them; —— the Scriptures of the New Testament expressly call for our 'subjection; *Let every Soul be subject*, saith St. *Paul*; so let him yield subjection to them, 'as never to resist on any provocation, temptation, or specious pretence whatsoever. '—— whence it is clear, that by the Christian Doctrin it is unlawful to resist the 'Higher Powers upon pretence of Male-administration, Tyranny, Injustice, or to re- 'bel for the defence of our Religion against the worst of persecuting Princes; for if 'Resistance in the foremention'd cases was a damning sin, when can it be excusable? —— after this he answers the common objections from the *Coronation Oath*, and *Self-Preservation*, &c.

p. 8, 9.

P. 12, Serm. on Mat. 13. 1. p. 24, 26, 27, 2; 29, 30, 31.

Mr. *Long*'s Sermon, called the *causes of Rebellion*, Preach'd *Jan.* 13. 1683. was Print- ed by the joint desires of the Bishop of *Exon*, and the Justices of the County of *Devon*, and the Dedication gives an account of an order of theirs, that concurs with the Doctrin of the Sermon; —— 'nor can any complaint of Tyranny, or Oppression justifie a War 'among us, —— did we suffer under some miscarriages in Government, some passions, 'and excesses in our Governors, neither Scripture, nor reason will warrant any resi- 'stance. *Obj.* But the Primitive Christians had no Laws to confirm their Religion, and 'therefore it was not so lawful for them to defend their Religion by Arms, as it is for 'us. *Answ.* It is strange, that our Laws should be made a pretence for Resistance, which 'declare, that *it is not lawful to resist upon any pretence whatsoever*. —— then the Sub- 'jects are made Judges of the Actions, and Conduct of their Governors. —— I take 'those, and only those, who do agree with the *Jesuits* in Preaching, and propagating 'Seditious and Traiterous Principles and Practices, such as the lawfulness of Resistance, 'and taking up Arms in defence of Religion against the Supreme Magistrate; that the 'Original of the Magistrate's Power is in the People, who may call them to an account, 'and Depose, and Murder them as they see cause, —— those, who have Murdered one 'King already, and use the same Methods to destroy another, —— in a word, all such 'as will not declare, that it is unlawful to take up Arms against the King, on any pre- 'tence whatsoever, or that they will not endeavour any alteration of the establish'd Go- 'vernment, —— for such false Prophets, as our Saviour bids us to beware of. This also is the Doctrin of his Sermon, on *July* 26. 1685. and his *Vindication of the Primitive Christians*, &c.

on *Jam.* 4. 1. p. 14, 15.

P. 16.

P. 22, 23.

V. p. 23, 26.

Dr. *Fuller* Chancellor of *Lincoln*; —— 'those Men have but little sense of the honor 'of Christian Religion, that abuse its Name, and pervert its obligations to justifie Sedi- 'tion and Rebellion; who with great pretences, and zeal for Christianity forsake her 'in her more principal commands of meekness, patience, and submission; and defend 'the Doctrin of Resistance and Disobedience from those Holy Scriptures, that have for- 'bidden them under the penalty of Damnation; —— that those Men do little deserve 'the Character of Reformed, who have forsaken our Reformation in its Principal and 'Fundamental Doctrin of the *King's Supremacy*, and renounced the Protestant Church 'of *England*, in all her Principles of Christian Loyalty; — and indeed all the Enemies 'of the Church of *England*, how distant soever in other points, are perfectly united in 'the Doctrin of disobedience; all agreeing in one conclusion, against the expres com- 'mands of Holy Scripture, that it is lawful to resist the Higher Powers, &c.

Ser. bef. the King *June* 25. 1682. p. 56, &c.

Dr. Sclater. *What a joy will it be to thy Spirit, and a lightning to thy Heart, when thou canst say thou didst not cowardly yield, tho thou hast been disarm'd, sequestred, decimated, and unrewarded for it.* —— *'twas of God's mercy to be kept faithful to the righteous cause of God,*

Royal pay, & paymaster on *Rom.* 2. 19. p. 6, 7, 8.

and the King, when there were so many temptations to withdraw us from our Loyalty; —— *Fidelity and Loyalty is in a more especial manner required in a Subject towards his Sovereign;* —— *'tis Treason in a Subject to fight against his Sovereign.* —— *but how long must this Fidelity last? a day or two, or so? Oh, no! this Commandment is like that heavy saying in Matrimony,* till death us do part.

Serm. before L. M. Jun. 27. 1683. p. 17, 18.

Dr. *Hickman.* 'The honor of God, and the defence of his Worship are glorious Undertakings, yet even here the excess of zeal is a crime, and the great importance of 'the end cannot justifie any unlawfulness in the means; the will of God, as it is expresst 'in his Word, is the standard of good and evil; and he will not suffer his eternal Laws 'to be violated, tho in his own defence; if it should please him to give his, and our 'Enemies such advantage over us, as may endanger the exercise of our Religion, we 'have our Prayers, and other lawful endeavours for our redress; but we must not defend 'our Church by an unlawful return of evil for evil, nor, like our Adversaries, commit 'any Act of Impiety or Injustice, tho under the most specious pretence of fighting the 'Battels of the Lord: The goodness of the Cause here is so far from justifying the Act, 'that it only aggravates the offence, ——when a Law is violated, or any injustice done 'for the sake of our Religion, both the scandal, and the Crime become conspicuous, 'they are then laid at the door of our Church, and bring a publick and perpetual blot 'upon our cause; —— what can our Religion profit us, or what honor can it bring to P. 19, v. p. 20, 33. 'the Almighty, when our Sacrifice comes polluted with blood, and violence of its 'own, how can it attone for our transgressions? therefore it is necessary to *obey, not only for wrath, but also for Conscience sake.* St. *Peter*, who was the first that drew his Sword 'in his Master's quarrel, was the first that denyed his name, and forsook his cause; 'and doubtless, whosoever fights for his Religion against his Prince, can never pass the 'muster without a *Romish* dispensation.

Ser. at Bath. Aug. 7. 1681. P. 4, 5, &c.

Mr. *Jos. Pleydall* Arch-Deacon of *Chichester*. 'Plebeians and *Hobbists* proceed upon 'one and the same Principle, making the People the Fountain of all Power; ——whereas 'Subjects owe a natural and inviolable Allegiance, ——but if a Prince prove a Tyrant, 'does he not by Male-administration forfeit the trust reposed in him? —— in whose Opi- 'nion? in the Opinion of *Mariana*, or *Knox*, *Hobbs*, or *Bradshaw*; *i. e.* in the judg- P. 8. 'ment of Papists, Sectaries, Atheists, or Rebels; —— 'tis impossible there should be 'a Rebellion, while the Principles of the Church of *England* are revered and owned; P. 11. '—— that Kings may be Deposed and Murdered, we may reckon under the Apostles 'strange and monstrous Doctrins, or rather under his *Doctrins of Devils.*

Assize Ser. p. 21, 22. v. p. 5, 7, 8, 16.

Mr. *Kimberley.* 'No pretences of Conscience or Religion, can Authorize our Resistance 'of the lawful Powers, which God hath set over us; they never knew, what it was in 'the times of the Primitive Christianity to oppose, expel or destroy any *Pagan*, *Per- 'secuting Arian* or *Apostate* Emperor.

Assize Ser. p. 21.

Mr. *Jemmat.* 'None but God can absolve Subjects from that Allegiance and Obedience, 'which they owe to their natural Lords; neither the Male administration of Govern- 'ment, nor their own fears, jealousies, nor the decay of Trade; no nor the hazard of 'Religion it self can justifie the Acts of Rebellion; —— they, to whom God hath given 'his own Power, are accountable to none but himself, *&c.*

Serm. on 2 *Chr.* 13. 5. p. 6. v. p. 8, 25, 18.

Mr. *Camfield.* 'The King is in the highest place, and highest power, and conse- 'quently all in his Dominions: Every Soul of them are obliged to be subject to him, 'none may presume to judge or resist him violently; there can be nothing justifyable on 'the Subjects part, but obedience and Submission, the rest must be referred to God alone 'the only Ruler of Princes, *&c.*

Ser. at *York*, Aug 3. 1685. p. 16, 24. & loc.

Mr. *Stainforth.* 'We have great reason to pity, and pray for Kings for the eminency 'of their Station, and uncontroulableness of their Power. —— If Princes are bad Men, 'and oppress their Subjects against reason and against Law, we have no reason left us, but,

'but Prayers to God, in whose hands are the hearts of Kings. — Whatsoever Injuries they 'heap upon us, whatsoever Violences and Persecutions we suffer under them, we must 'not suffer our Passions to rise and swell against them; — much less must we take up 'Arms, and by force resist their Persons or Authority: — Those who take up Arms P. 34. 'against their Sovereign's Authority fight against Heaven.

Mr. *Graile*, Rector of *Blickling* in *Norfolk*, publish'd four Sermons: 'For Loyalty to *Lond.* 1685. 'our Prince is a thing commanded by God himself, together with Piety and Devotion P. 44, 45. 'towards himself, yea, and commanded in the very next place to it; so that the one is 'a part, an inseparable part, a very considerable part of the other: And it follows from 'hence by an apparent Consequence, that Mens Disloyalty is a clear indication of their ir- 'religion; if they fear not the King, they fear not God. *If any Man seem to be reli-* ☜ 'gious, and bridles not his Tongue from speaking evil of Dignities, or Higher Powers, *Jam.* 1. 26. 'that Man's Religion is vain; and 'tis much more so, if he holds not his hands from *2 Pet.* 2. 10. *Rom.* 13. 2. 'resisting these Powers: Our Law will have no Error, no Injustice, no Folly, no Imper- P. 53, 54, 55. 'fection whatsoever to be found in the King. — All the States of the Realm joyned to- 'gether, all the Nobles and Commons, and the whole Body of the People have not a 'Power and Authority equal to his: — For otherwise he would not be the King of a 'Kingdom, but of single Men separately taken. — The King is no substitute of the Peo- P. 56. 'ple, but the Minister of God, and his Power is the Ordinance of God. — It is a con- 'tradiction to be Sovereign, and to have a Superior. — The Lords, both Spiritual and P. 57. 'Temporal together, with all the Commons assembled in Parliament, do by a solemn 'Oath acknowledg the King to be Supreme, and themselves to be his Subjects: And they 'have in publick Statutes particularly declared, — That both, or either Houses of Parlia- 'ment cannot, nor lawfully may raise or levy any War, offensive or defensive, against ☜ 'his Majesty, his Heirs and lawful Successors: — Neither is the King accountable to them, 'or to any other besides God: These are the Essentials of Sovereignty. ——— There is 'but one Case, wherein a good and loyal Subject will refuse to obey his Prince, and that is, 'when such Obedience will by no means consist with his Obedience to God: ——— But P. 60, 61. 'there is no Case whatsoever, wherein he dares either to resist or reproach the Person or v. P. 66, 96, 97, 119, 120, 'Authority of the King, or to offer any Indignity to him: — To fight against him, is to 154. 'fight against God, whom the King represents, — *upon any pretence whatsoever*, it cannot 'be done without open Perfidiousness and Rebellion: — Such are Monsters of Men, and 'are as natural brute Beasts, made to be taken and destroyed: So S. *Peter* describes them, '2 *Pet.* 2. 10, 12.

Mr. *David Jenner*, in his *Prerogative of Primogenitures* *, asserts the same Cause: *Lond.* 1685 P. 48. *Altho the Law of God is indeed above all Kings, and if they wilfully transgress the same, they are all accountable unto God, and unto God only for the same, yet in this Kingdom of* England, *no Statute Law is or can be above the King, because it was the King that first gave life and being to the Law of the Land; the King by his Royal Assent made the Law to be what it is*, viz. *a Law*: *But the Law of the Land did not make the King to be what he is*, viz. *a King; for the King was King before the Law.* ——— *That the Doctrin and Practice of Deposing lawful Kings, and Ex-* P. 122. *cluding the right Heir from succeeding in the Throne for his being an Heretick, Idolater, tyrannical and wicked, is grounded upon nothing but* Popery *and* Fanaticism. ☜

Mr. *Hancock*, in his Answer to the Viscount *Stafford's Memoires*: 'I could make it *Lond.* 1682. 'evident, that the same Maxims of Political Divinity, the same Arguments, and many P. 31. 'times the same Phrases and Expressions are to be found in the Heads of both Factions: 'I know 'tis disputed, whether the Ring-Leaders of Sedition among us poyson'd the 'Jesuits, or the Jesuits them; but I do not envy the Bishops of *Rome* the Honor of 'having first poyson'd them both with Antimonarchical Doctrins. If *Milton* (the great

'Oracle of one of the Factions) had own'd himself to be a Papist, there had been no 'reason to wonder at the Impiety of his Doctrins, which he either did, or might have 'learnt from the Popes, and greatest Divines of the *Roman* Church. It was truly al-'ledg'd by *Salmasius*, that the Doctrin of the sacred and inviolable Authority of Princes 'was preserved pure and uncorrupt in the Church, till the Bishops of *Rome* attempted 'to set up a Kingdom in this World paramount to all Kings and Emperors; but he with 'his usual Confidence, acquits the Popes, and charges his Antimonarchical Principles on '*Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *Bucer*, *Martyr*, *Pareus*, and all the Reformed Divines.

P. 50. '——*Bellarmine*, *Parsons*, *Creswel*, *Suarez*, &c. are the Men that furnish'd the lead-'ing Faction among us with Principles and Precedents, with Arguments and Texts of 'Scripture;——out of whom they either did or might have derived the Grounds of the 'War against the King, of erecting an *High Court of Justice*, and of bringing him to 'the Block.

P. 53. *John Goodwin*, in one of his Pamphlets hath this remarkable Expression, *As for of-*

P. 166, &c. *fering Violence to the Person of a King, or attempting to take away his Life, we leave the Proof of the lawfulness of it to those profound Disputers the Jesuits.*——*I have fairly represented those Doctrins and Principles, which strike at the very root of our establish'd Religion and Government, with the Arts and Instruments which have been used by the prevailing Faction of the* Roman Church *for the Subversion of them: And I know no stronger Argument against the truth and goodness of any Religion, than that it supplants moral Righteousness, and serves to be a Bond of Conspiracy; allowes of Sedition and Treachery, Injustice and Cruelty; for how can that Religion be from God, which maketh Men unlike to God, as bad or worse than if they were left to the Principles and Inclinations of their own Natures?* ——*Of the* Church of England *I will only say, It hath establish'd the Right of Kings upon such sure and unalterable Foundations, that it is the Interest, as well as the Duty of the Civil Power, to support and defend it.*

Animadv. on Ob. Ch. Govern. Preface. Mr. *Smalridge*. 'Certainly that Doctrin which invades the just Rights of Princes, can 'hope but for few Proselytes among those, who have constantly defended them in their '*Writings*, asserted them in their *Decrees*, and upon all occasions vindicated them with 'their *Swords*. For we do not lye open to the imputation of a *condition'd* and *di-'stinguishing* Loyalty, who have shewed our readiness to imitate the glorious Exam-'ples of our Fathers, and were prepar'd (had not God's good Providence prevented our 'Service) to have transcribed that Copy lately at *Sedgmore*, which they set us formerly 'at *Edg-hill*. And in truth our steady Fidelity to the Prince is so unquestionable, that 'our Enemies have been pleased to ridicule what they could not deny, and have made '*Passive Obedience* bear a part in our Character, when the Muse hath been enclin'd to 'Satyr.

Thus also the *Person of Quality*, who wrote the Reasons, *Why a Protestant should not*

P. 30, 31. *turn Papist*.——'I am then quite out of conceit with your Religion, since I cannot 'embrace it without endangering my Loyalty (by reason of the Deposing Doctrin) in 'case I live up to the pitch of its real Principles. But 'tis all one to me, so long as I 'remain a Protestant, what Religion my Prince is of (tho I could wish, he were of the 'same I profess) because his Authority over me, and my indispensible Obligation to 'submit to him, do not depend upon his Opinion or Religion, but upon his Birth-'right; yet have we not reason to doubt, if the zealous sort of *Roman Catholicks* would 'not think it lawful to take Arms against their Prince turn'd a Heretick, since the *French* '*Leagne* against *Henry* the 4th. was upon this very account styled *Holy*; and had I not 'been particularly acquainted with the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, I had never con-'ceived how it came to pass, that such great Numbers of learned and well-meaning Men

'too

'too, could be guilty of such a horrible wickedness as that was, and forget themselves so far, as to pretend Holiness in an open Rebellion against their lawful Prince. —— I am 'then more satisfied with the Loyalty of a Protestant, especially of the *Church of England*, 'who acknowledgeth the Prince to be a Supreme Governour over all his Subjects, and 'Sovereign Judg in all Cases, than with that of a *Roman Catholick*, who seems to set li-'mits to his Power by such restrictions, as neither Reason nor Scripture can warrant.

Mr. *Pomfret*. 'Must the free-born Subject break in upon the Birthrights and Liberties 'of the Crown, and reduce it to Submission and Slavery, that the humersom Christian 'may enjoy, what he is pleased to call his Christian Liberty? Christ gave not his Blood for 'this end; nor did he make a purchase of a disobedient and gainsaying People: — Be 'confident, no man can be God's Servant, unless he be also a good Subject. —— Some 'mens Opinions and other mens Interests, is the Conscience they so much talk of; and 'then it is no wonder at all, they cannot for their hearts obey, when they themselves are set-'ting up for Superiority. —— Passive Obedience is a patient and mild Suffering the 'hard and unjust Usages of Kings, being both the Christian's Duty and Profession: But 'this meek and Christian Principle was of late called to an account, and with Arguments 'of Railery and Contempt endeavour'd to be hooted out of the World. —— Under the 'old Law, when the King should usurp upon their Lands, and Wives and Children, '1 *Sam.* 8. 11. 18. all their Remedy was, *Ye shall cry out unto the Lord in that day, &c.* '——*They that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.* It is in vain to say 'more, being so plain to any Man to understand, that seriously thinks of a day of Judg-'ment, when all the *dawbing of Liberty and Property, and Religion*, shall be wiped off, 'and no pretence nor distinction, satisfie against the evidence of Truth, and so plain Ex-'pressions.

Serm. called *Subjection for Conscience sake*, p. 16. P. 22. *Id.* Pass. Ob. stated and asserted. *pag.* 3. P. 15. P. 17, 18, 19, 21.

Mr. Nicolas Claget. *Disloyal Principles dispose Men to be unquiet Subjects, such as these*, That all Power is from the People, and is put into the King's hands upon trust, that it is lawful for Subjects to enter into Covenants and Associations for the defence of themselves and their Religion, against the Command of the Prince, *&c. which are the Doctrins of* Jesuits *and* Fanaticks; *Doctrines of so pernicious a consequence to the publick Peace, that it is enough to make us reject them as false, without examining them further.* —*Such impious Doctrins and Principles as are destructive of the State, and do leave Governments and Governors insecure.* ——— "*And is Religion and God's Cause a Pretext for Treason and Rebellion? This is next to Blasphemy, and is an impious Reflection on the Wisdom and Power of God; as if to bring about his own Designs, he stood in need of our* Devilish Devices.

Serm. on 1 *Thes.* 4. 11. P. 27. P. 22, 23, 38, 39, 40.

See also Wilson's Discourse of Monarchy, p. 15, 22, 70, 72, 81, 82. 106, 198. 207, 209. 248, 258.

259. Mr. *John Cook*, Serm. before the L. Mayor, *May* 13. 1683. *pag.* 8, 9. 11. 24, 25. Dr. *Jo. Price* Serm. *Sept.* 9. 1683. *pag.* 2. 12. 15. 18. Mr. *Will. Bolton*, *Corah Redivivus*. pag. 9. 14. 29. Mr. *Higham* on *Prov.* 24. 21. *pag.* 45, *&c.* 86. 109. 123. 137. 157. 160. 175, *&c.* Mr. *Whitfield*'s Sermon before the L. Mayor, *Jul.* 30. 1682. on *Jude* 8. Mr. *Gifford*'s Assize Sermon, *p.* 12. Mr. *Hyrick*'s Sermon, *July* 26. 1683. *p.* 6, 10, 21, 26. Mr. *Brown*'s Sermon at the Visitation, *Apr.* 12. 1681. *p.* 27, 34. Dr. *Smith*, Prebendary of *Norwich*, Assize Serm. *Sept.* 13. 1668. *p.* 8, 9. *&c.* Id. Assize Serm. *Feb.* 27. 1672. *p.* 28. B. *Rively*'s Sermon at *Norwich*, *July* 19. 1679. on *Rom.* 13. 4. *p.* 6, 7. Dr. *Thompson*, Dean of *Bristol*, Serm. *June* 21. 1685. on *Tit.* 3. 1. *p.* 3, 5, 6, 14. 16, 17, 18, *&c.* Mr. *Burn*'s Serm. *May* 29. 1684. *p.* 25, 27, *&c.* Mr. *Elborowe*'s Scriptural Catechism, *p.* 59. Mr. *Alsop*'s Serm. on *Exod.* 20. 12. *p.* 9, 10, 12, 13. 15, *&c.* 24, 25, 30. Dr. *Fr. Gregory*'s Serm. *Nov.* 5. 1679. *p.* 6, 9. 25. Mr. *Will. Godman*'s Sermon, *May* 24. 1660. *p.* 21, 22, *&c.* Mr. *Luce*'s Serm. on 1 *Pet.* 2. 16. *p.* 14, 17. 18. Mr. *Fisher*'s Serm. *Jan.* 30. 1672. *p.* 11, 13. Mr. *Sayer*'s Assize Serm. *Feb.* 25. 1672. *p.* 38, 40. Dr. *Barnes*'s Serm. before the University of *Cambr. p.* 10, 19, 20 Mr. *Crisp*'s Visit. Serm. 1686. And very many other such Discourses; and I have reason to suppose, that if the Sermons of all the Divines of the Ch. of *England*, on this subject, were in Print, the very Catalogue would swell to a very great bulk. *P. 44.

I shall close this Chapter with the Testimony of Dr. *Carswell*, Vicar of *Bray*, in his *Soate Reformer enquir'd into*. —'Designing Men still cunningly hide the disloyal Trea-'chery in their Hearts, their ambitious Designs, their Disgusts and Disgraces at Court, 'their

Serm. at the Assize, *Mar.* 3. 1681. *p.* 25.

'their Discontents for missing Places of Trust, Command, Profit, or Honor, under the
'Vizard or fair-fac'd Pretences of Religion or Justice; they are only concern'd as Patriots
P. 39. 'of their Religion and Country, &c. ——— If our Judges are unjust, or the King had
'deputed none to hear, or none that would do Justice, it were not then lawful to op-
p. 44. 'pose or revile: *Be wise now therefore, O ye Kings, &c.* Tho the People may not dare
'to revile, or presume to call you to an account, yet the King of Kings, whose Depu-
p. 41. 'ties you are, will exact an account of your Stewardship. ——— God made not the
'People Judg of *Moses*'s Actions, but him of theirs.

The End of the Second Part.

Some grosser ERRATA *of the First Part.*

IN the Catal. of Authors, read B. *Montague*. p. 7. for *primitive*, r. *more early*. p. 18. for *subscribed*, r. *assented to*. for *An.* 1684. r. *the same Year*. p. 32. r. *Ficlerus*. p. 35. r. *Al Kum*. p. 43. after *or better him* add the Paragraph in p. 46. *And according to this Doctrin* unto *Malignants*. p. 54. r. *Goodwin*. p. 74. for *L.* r. *lastly*. p. 88. r. *irreligious*.

ERRATA *of the Second Part.*

PAg. 1. for *ought to*, read *would willingly*. p. 5. l. 12. r. *do deserve*. p. 9. r. *an.* 1543. p. 11. marg. r. *Barnes*. p. 14. l. 18. r. *as they*. p. 20. r. *a Friend*. p. 32. l. 24. r. *as he*. p. 36. *must*. p. 53. *how much*. p. 57. l. 1. *the state*, dele *after the words*, to *following*. p. 59. l. 26. *they could*. p. 70. l. 31. r. *rend, &c.* p. 79. l. 27. r. *then*. p. 82. l. 36. for *which* r. *and*. p. 84. r. *or Merode*. p. 89. r. *as if he*. p. 91. r. *forer*. p. 94. *Abbadon*. p. 95. l. 2. r. *whom*. p. 96. בנין p. 101. r. *then only B.* p. 104. marg. *Bowsin*. p. 105. l. 28. r. *was the first*. p. 109. dele *the* Cicero *of the Fr. Church*. dele *Buckler of Faith*. p. 112. l. 37. r. *that Book is*. p. 127. r. 1661. p. 138. r. *Theses*. p. 144. after *B. Fell* should be placed D. *Allestry*, who is placed p. 147. and instead of Dr. *Allestry* should be placed p. 147. B. *Thomas*. p. 149. r. *wickedly*. ——— The rest the Reader is desired to correct.

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